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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

The Need for a Long View
An Editorial

Do the French Want Democracy?
By Charles A. Micaud

The Non-Conformist Conscience
By Nels F. S. Ferré

Doctors Deserve a Better Deal
By T. Swann Harding

An Unfounded Fear
An Editorial

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In This Issue

NELS F. S. FERRÉ

is professor of theology and philosophy at Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass. Dr. Ferré has contributed frequently to The Christian Century, especially a number of notable book reviews, and is the author of two widely discussed volumes, *Swedish Contributions to Modern Theology* and *The Christian Fellowship.*

CHARLES A. MICAUD

is a member of the faculty of the University of Oregon, now completing his work for a doctorate at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. A graduate of the University of Lyon, France, he did postgraduate work in that institution and in the University of Paris. Coming to this country in 1936, he obtained a master's degree at Columbia University and has taken out citizenship papers. As a text for his article Mr. Micaud suggests a statement in a recent article by André Maurois: "In point of fact, from 1934 to 1939, France was no longer a democratic state."

T. SWANN HARDING

is known not only for his books, such as *The Joy of Ignorance, T. N. T.—The National Tax-eaters* and *The Popular Practice of Fraud,* but also for articles which have appeared in many magazines. Mr. Harding lives in Falls Church, Va., a suburb of Washington, D. C.

OWEN M. GEER

is minister of the Methodist Church, Dearborn, Mich.

CYRIL MODOK

is accounted India's leading Christian poet.

JOSEPH F. KING

is minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Lawrence, Kan.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 30, 1941

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Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 30-May 3. Disciples State Convention, St. Louis, Mo.
May 1-7. International Convention, Disciples of Christ, St. Louis, Mo.
May 2-4. Ohio Christian Youth Council Retreat, Camp Indianola.
May 4. Loud Lecture, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Charles Clayton Morrison, speaker.
May 4. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Peter Marshall, speaker.
May 4, 5. State Sunday School Convention, Sidney, Neb.
May 5-8. Michigan-Detroit School of Ministerial Training, Lansing.
May 6, 7. State Sunday School Convention, Hastings, Neb.
May 8, 9. State Sunday School Convention, Columbus, Neb.
May 10, 11. Annual Pennsylvania Tri-Hi-Y Council, Harrisburg.
May 11. Mother's Day.
May 11. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; William Scarlett, speaker.
May 11, 12. State Sunday School Convention, Auburn, Neb.
May 12-14. Annual Missionary Education Institute, Indianapolis.
May 12-14. Southwide Baptist Woman's Missionary Union Convention, Birmingham, Ala.
May 13. Harrisburg Baptist Association, York, Pa.
May 13, 14. National Unity Meeting, Churches of Christ and Disciples of Christ, Columbus, Ohio.
May 13, 14. Reading Baptist Association, Freeland, Pa.
May 13-23. United Brethren General Conference. South Bend, Ind.
May 14, 15. Wyoming Baptist Association, Tunkhannock, Pa.
May 14-18. Southern Baptist Convention, Birmingham, Ala.
May 16-18. Welsh Baptist Association, Olyphant, Pa.
May 18. Rural Life Sunday.
May 19-21. Disciples State Convention, Lima, O.
May 19-21. Disciples Convention, Washington, D. C.
May 20, 21. Disciples Southern District Convention, Carmi, Ill.
May 20-25. Northern Baptist Convention, Wichita, Kans.
May 21-23. Disciples New York-New Jersey Convention, Auburn, N. Y.
May 22. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of the U.S., Montreat, N. C.
May 22. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., St. Louis, Mo.
May 22, 23. Disciples East Central District Convention, Blue Mound, Ill.
May 26-28. Disciples Indiana Convention, Bedford.
May 27, 28. Disciples Northwestern District Convention, Dixon, Ill.
May 30-June 1. National Anti-War Congress, Washington, D. C.
June 1. Central New York Disciples Convention, Tully.
June 1-7. Ozark Mountain Bible Conference, Inspiration Point, Eureka Springs, Ark.
June 2-7. North Mississippi Leadership School, Mathiston.
June 3-5. Canadian-American Fellowship Conference, Toronto.
June 3-6. Nebraska School of Ministerial Training, Lincoln.
June 5. Reformed Church in America, General Synod, Holland, Mich.
June 5-8. Disciples South Dakota Convention, Hot Springs.
June 9-13. Memphis Leadership School, Jackson, Tenn.
June 9-13. Indiana School of Ministerial Training, Greencastle.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LVIII CHICAGO, APRIL 30, 1941 NUMBER 18

EDITORIAL

Germans Win the Balkans

LAST WEEK'S headline was "Germans Gain Ground in Balkans." This week's can be cut two words to leave it, "Germans Gain Balkans." Berlin's announcement of the complete collapse of organized Yugoslav resistance merely anticipated the event by two or three days. Though there are doubtless thousands of guerrillas in the mountains, the Yugoslav army has disappeared. So also have the Yugoslav government and nation. The establishment of a separate Croatian state in the northern part of the country and its prompt recognition by Germany marked the end of Yugoslavia's existence, and the prompt filing of claims by all the neighboring states for cuts from the carcass presaged its complete dismemberment. No Balkan state is now anything other than a German province. If any Greek troops remain in southern Albania, their problem is not how to get on but how to get out. That also is the British problem in Greece, since the line of combat has moved south past Olympus and gives no promise of even pausing short of the Isthmus of Corinth. The German superiority in the air, which has been decisive against the heroic British and Greek defense thus far, may make even that bottleneck ineffective to check the nazi advance. It can never be said that the British let their allies down in the fight for Greece, but there is little doubt that their actual movement at present, as well as their wisest strategy, is in the direction of shifting troops from Greece to north Africa to reinforce the divisions which oppose the German advance into Egypt.

Tension in the Middle East

ALTHOUGH the world's attention is largely centered on the fighting in Greece and Egypt, it is evident that developments of great importance are taking place in Syria and Iraq. Censorship hides most of the facts concerning these developments. But it is known that there have been serious disturbances in Syria and a virtual overturn of the government in Iraq which has forced the British to land an expedition from India at Basra. London sources attribute both these outbreaks to the machinations of German agents. It is probable that the charge is true. However, it must be remembered that the Arabic world has long believed that it was deceived by Great Britain during the First World War and has been treated shabbily since then—a belief for which a basis may be found in the writings of some Englishmen, including no less important a figure than Lawrence of Arabia. Britain's relation to the trouble in Syria is complicated by its relation to France, for the French administration of Syria remains loyal to the Petain government. It will be difficult for the British to find a basis for collaboration at Damascus while turning the screws on Vichy. Nevertheless, it is vital to British interests to see that this part of the Near East does not pass under the influence of anti-British elements. The peril in Iraq, should its Mosul oil fields come under German domination, is even greater. Arrival of the Indian forces in Iraq will probably restore British control, at least for the present. But it must be recognized that all such disorders tend to make it easier for Hitler, after he reaches the Dardanelles, to push ahead with that *Drang nach Bagdad* which is just as much his major eastward goal as it was that of the Hohenzollerns.

Lease-Lend Finance Now Includes Canada

TWO of the predictions made in these columns on April 2 have now been fulfilled. We then said that a general price control must soon be set up by Congress. Last week authority was given Mr. Leon Henderson to fix prices, and he promptly began by establishing a ceiling on steel. The grant of power which Mr. Henderson is now exercising did not, however, come from Congress. It was handed down by President Roosevelt. Senator Taft pointedly asks why, if this is possible, the President does not send Congress home and rule by decree. The answer of course is that Congress is still the compliant key which unlocks the wealth of the American people for apparently unlimited expenditure, not simply for defense, but to finance whatever the President chooses. Hard on the heels

of his appointment of a federal price-fixer the President took the second of the steps which our editorial, "Toward National Socialism," foretold as inevitable, namely, that the measures taken under the lease-lend act would require that our aid to Britain must shortly be extended to all the British dominions. After a pleasant Hyde Park week end with the prime minister of Canada, Mr. Roosevelt announced that a plan had been perfected "by which the most prompt and effective utilization might be made of the productive facilities of North America." While uncertainty shadows details of the scheme, it is evident that its purpose is to relieve Canada of the disadvantages under which it was placed when the lease-lend law began to give Britain materials for which Canada was still receiving cash from the mother country. The United States is now to pay Canada "between two hundred million and three hundred million dollars" for war materials. "Payments by the United States for these supplies," says the official statement, "will materially assist Canada in meeting part of the cost of Canadian defense purchases in the United States." This of course is obvious. And it will materially relieve Britain from the obligation of fulfilling existing contracts with Canada, and add to the incalculable burden being assumed by the American people by making inevitable a similar arrangement with the other British dominions.

Europe's Hunger For Spoils

IF GERMANY'S drive across the Balkans has not accomplished anything else, it has at least served to make clear again the basic instability of Europe. The picture presented by the attack on Yugoslavia and Greece has been a brutal one, from whatever angle one considers it. But by far its most repulsive feature has been the scramble of Yugoslavia's neighbors to grab their share of the carcass of that dismembered kingdom. From the moment when it became clear that the German blitzkrieg would sweep over Yugoslavia in short order, the surrounding nations have pounced upon the victim from all directions. Italy has grabbed for the Adriatic coast. Hungary has occupied the Banat. Rumania and Bulgaria have moved in as fast and as far as the Germans would let them along the eastern border. First come; first served. It is an old story in Europe. It is a repetition of what happened when Czechoslovakia was broken up, and last year when Rumania went under the harrow. (Then Rumania had to surrender territory to Hungary and Bulgaria; now she has joined the vultures.) Old territorial divisions made at the end of old wars are urged in justification of all these new seizures, but the general picture cannot be disguised. Europe is a continent of constantly shifting boundary lines. There are bits of territory in the region now being invaded that have been under four flags since 1912, and are now about to pass under a fifth! Everywhere on this continent there are nations —or subjugated peoples that once were nations—scheming, plotting, living for the day when there can be a new tearing apart of the map and a new division of spoils. A lasting peace in a continent where statecraft is nurtured in revenge and every nation believes—with reason—that its neighbors are so many birds of prey presents a problem which the exhausted victors in this war, whether they are the Axis powers or an Anglo-American alliance, can hardly face without a staggering sense of their insufficiency.

British Empire Is In the Balance

AT THIS POINT in the war the character, if not the fate, of the British empire hangs in the balance. Leaving out of account for the moment the danger that Britain herself may be overwhelmed—a danger too great to be forgotten even for an instant, though she shows no sign of cracking under the terrific strain—one observes that a spearhead is pointed at every vulnerable point in the empire. Suez is at the convergence of two lines of attack, through Egypt and through Turkey, both of which may fail but either or both of which may succeed. Negotiations at Vichy and Madrid indicate that a movement upon Gibraltar will not be long postponed. The whole of British interests in the Near East—Palestine, Transjordania and the oil of Iraq—are threatened by the eastern half of the pincers movement upon Suez. Conditions in India, as reported by British sources that cannot be quoted, are much worse than press dispatches indicate. The Japanese-Russian pact imperils Singapore, without which British interests in the Far East could not be maintained. It is possible that Great Britain may hold every one of these nerve centers of empire, but it is also possible that she may lose them all. What then would remain of the empire? Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. These are the great free dominions. An empire made up of such elements and no others—self-governing elements bound together only by their own consent—would be a new kind of empire. It is the kind toward which the British empire has been moving for many years, subject to the drag of habits, institutions and vested interests inherited from the centuries of mercantilism and military imperialism. While it may be bad for the world to have these other key points fall into hands which will make them instruments for a nazi "new order," it might conceivably in the long run be good for the British empire.

Sweepstakes Prize Finances Housing Project

AS A MAJOR PREMISE it should be stated that we disapprove of the Irish sweepstakes and all other lottery schemes as both morally and economically unsound. Probably many who do not share this disapproval would at least go so far as to say that it is a culpable misuse of funds for an unemployed person on relief to invest any part of his unearned income in a sweepstakes ticket. That said, it is heartening to note the remarkably wise use that one lucky man made of his winnings. He was a Negro in Philadelphia, out of work and getting $11.50 a week from relief funds for the support of his family. An investment of $2.50 brought him a prize of $150,000. That was two years ago. There was recently

opened for occupancy a housing project, the Frances Plaza Apartments, on which most of this money was spent, furnishing excellent accommodations at low cost to fifty families of his race. "Modern in every respect, the apartments are equipped with air conditioning, playground, lawns and a fountain, playrooms in the basement for the children, a gymnasium and bowling alley, reception hall for social affairs, and a chapel for religious services." The chairman of the Philadelphia Housing Authority is quoted as saying that the building is a good business proposition as well as a meritorious slum-clearance project. In further justice to the relief client who invested first foolishly in a sweepstakes ticket and then wisely in a housing project, it should be added that he has paid back $3,000 which he had received for relief, and that when he bought an automobile (as of course he did) it was one of the cheapest on the market. The only particular moral of this story is its suggestion that it seems to be entirely practicable to do something about slum-clearance and better housing at low cost, given a reasonable sum of money, from whatever source derived, and a simple and sincere desire to do it.

No Kingdom of God For Connersville

PREACHING the Kingdom of God on earth constitutes advocacy of the "overthrow of the government by force" in the opinion of the authorities of Fayette county, Indiana. On Palm Sunday the sheriffs of that county rounded up and jailed seventy-five Jehovah's Witnesses in Connersville. They were distributing their literature which proclaims a "theocracy in which God shall be the supreme ruler." Although bail was at first set at the fantastic total sum of $225,000, it was later reduced so that the Witnesses are now at liberty awaiting trial for sedition. The Connersville authorities are pressing their charges under the Indiana criminal syndicalism law. This statute is so loosely drawn that last September it enabled them to send two elderly housewives, also Witnesses, to the penitentiary for terms of from two to ten years for "riotous conspiracy" and "resistance to organized government." What they had actually done was to distribute the literature of the sect—a right specifically upheld by the United States Supreme Court—and to refuse to salute the flag. Although they are also free on bail pending appeal and the American Civil Liberties Union has intervened in both cases, such a display of official tyranny and intolerance as this is a disgrace to democracy and a menace to the freedom of all religion. Liberty of belief under the Constitution is not only for the wise, the tolerant and the respectable. If it has any meaning at all—and it has—it implies liberty for fools, bigots and crackpots, providing they confine their activities to preaching and do not step over the line into overt disturbance of the peace. By persecuting these harmless but pestiferous people, Connersville advertised their absurd ideas and exposed its own intolerance to national opprobrium. It has also shown the kind of savagery which is likely to become increasingly common as war hysteria spreads across the country. The responsibility for this situation, which is only a part of the most widespread religious persecution which this country has known for a century, lies with the fomenters of war madness.

London's City Temple Is in Ruins

MANY an American heard the news of the bombing of City Temple, in London, with a degree of emotion disproportionate to his own actual association with it. This was the most prominent non-conformist church in London. Built in 1874, its pulpit immediately became the central broadcasting station (before there were any broadcasting stations in the modern sense) for British free church opinion. It was from that pulpit that Joseph Parker—the Henry Ward Beecher of London, unless one prefers to call Beecher the Joseph Parker of Brooklyn—polysyllabically damned the sultan for permitting the massacre of the Armenians. In less sensational ways he made this pulpit a religious lighthouse in the metropolis. Reginald J. Campbell sent out a light of a different hue but of no less brilliance. Joseph Fort Newton is the only American who was ever the minister of City Temple, though many of the greatest American preachers have spoken from its pulpit. Frederick W. Norwood's ministry there was long and memorable. Leslie D. Weatherhead, who succeeded him five years ago, has been widely heard and his books on religion and on psychology have been widely read. For Protestant American visitors to London, City Temple has been one of the first places of pilgrimage and one of the places where they were most certain to meet their friends. It was a great parish church, but it had also something of the character of a cathedral. It was the St. Paul's of non-conformity. And now it has been bombed to dust and ashes. Fortunately, as one thinks of it now, the building made no great architectural pretensions. It was just a house to hold a worshiping congregation. The spirit of the church was so much more significant than its edifice, that perhaps one should think of the destruction wrought by the bomb as an inconvenience rather than a disaster.

Have You Put in Your Order for a Bomb?

ALL THE THRILLS of the most spectacular form of battle lust are now to be available to Americans who are "spoiling for a fight" but are kept safely at home by prudential or financial considerations. British bomb manufacturers, according to *Newsweek*, are organizing in this country a group called Bombardiers, Ltd. The purpose of the new organization is to sell options on aerial bombs of various weights. These options are then to be turned over to the Royal Air Force, which agrees to air mail to the holder of the option a letter informing him of the time and place when his bomb is put to use. Obviously this noble idea is only in the early stages of its development. Think how much greater the propaganda value if the bomb-purchaser, in addition to his certificate of ownership, could be given a motion picture showing the whole history of his investment. The film could show the

of his appointment of a federal price-fixer the President took the second of the steps which our editorial, "Toward National Socialism," foretold as inevitable, namely, that the measures taken under the lease-lend act would require that our aid to Britain must shortly be extended to all the British dominions. After a pleasant Hyde Park week end with the prime minister of Canada, Mr. Roosevelt announced that a plan had been perfected "by which the most prompt and effective utilization might be made of the productive facilities of North America." While uncertainty shadows details of the scheme, it is evident that its purpose is to relieve Canada of the disadvantages under which it was placed when the lease-lend law began to give Britain materials for which Canada was still receiving cash from the mother country. The United States is now to pay Canada "between two hundred million and three hundred million dollars" for war materials. "Payments by the United States for these supplies," says the official statement, "will materially assist Canada in meeting part of the cost of Canadian defense purchases in the United States." This of course is obvious. And it will materially relieve Britain from the obligation of fulfilling existing contracts with Canada, and add to the incalculable burden being assumed by the American people by making inevitable a similar arrangement with the other British dominions.

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PREACHING the Kingdom of God on earth constitutes advocacy of the "overthrow of the government by force" in the opinion of the authorities of Fayette county, Indiana. On Palm Sunday the sheriffs of that county rounded up and jailed seventy-five Jehovah's Witnesses in Connersville. They were distributing their literature which proclaims a "theocracy in which God shall be the supreme ruler." Although bail was at first set at the fantastic total sum of $225,000, it was later reduced so that the Witnesses are now at liberty awaiting trial for sedition. The Connersville authorities are pressing their charges under the Indiana criminal syndicalism law. This statute is so loosely drawn that last September it enabled them to send two elderly housewives, also Witnesses, to the penitentiary for terms of from two to ten years for "riotous conspiracy" and "resistance to organized government." What they had actually done was to distribute the literature of the sect—a right specifically upheld by the United States Supreme Court—and to refuse to salute the flag. Although they are also free on bail pending appeal and the American Civil Liberties Union has intervened in both cases, such a display of official tyranny and intolerance as this is a disgrace to democracy and a menace to the freedom of all religion. Liberty of belief under the Constitution is not only for the wise, the tolerant and the respectable. If it has any meaning at all—and it has—it implies liberty for fools, bigots and crackpots, providing they confine their activities to preaching and do not step over the line into overt disturbance of the peace. By persecuting these harmless but pestiferous people, Connersville advertised their absurd ideas and exposed its own intolerance to national opprobrium. It has also shown the kind of savagery which is likely to become increasingly common as war hysteria spreads across the country. The responsibility for this situation, which is only a part of the most widespread religious persecution which this country has known for a century, lies with the fomenters of war madness.

London's City Temple Is in Ruins

MANY an American heard the news of the bombing of City Temple, in London, with a degree of emotion disproportionate to his own actual association with it. This was the most prominent non-conformist church in London. Built in 1874, its pulpit immediately became the central broadcasting station (before there were any broadcasting stations in the modern sense) for British free church opinion. It was from that pulpit that Joseph Parker—the Henry Ward Beecher of London, unless one prefers to call Beecher the Joseph Parker of Brooklyn—polysyllabically damned the sultan for permitting the massacre of the Armenians. In less sensational ways he made this pulpit a religious lighthouse in the metropolis. Reginald J. Campbell sent out a light of a different hue but of no less brilliance. Joseph Fort Newton is the only American who was ever the minister of City Temple, though many of the greatest American preachers have spoken from its pulpit. Frederick W. Norwood's ministry there was long and memorable. Leslie D. Weatherhead, who succeeded him five years ago, has been widely heard and his books on religion and on psychology have been widely read. For Protestant American visitors to London, City Temple has been one of the first places of pilgrimage and one of the places where they were most certain to meet their friends. It was a great parish church, but it had also something of the character of a cathedral. It was the St. Paul's of non-conformity. And now it has been bombed to dust and ashes. Fortunately, as one thinks of it now, the building made no great architectural pretensions. It was just a house to hold a worshiping congregation. The spirit of the church was so much more significant than its edifice, that perhaps one should think of the destruction wrought by the bomb as an inconvenience rather than a disaster.

Have You Put in Your Order for a Bomb?

ALL THE THRILLS of the most spectacular form of battle lust are now to be available to Americans who are "spoiling for a fight" but are kept safely at home by prudential or financial considerations. British bomb manufacturers, according to *Newsweek,* are organizing in this country a group called Bombardiers, Ltd. The purpose of the new organization is to sell options on aerial bombs of various weights. These options are then to be turned over to the Royal Air Force, which agrees to air mail to the holder of the option a letter informing him of the time and place when his bomb is put to use. Obviously this noble idea is only in the early stages of its development. Think how much greater the propaganda value if the bomb-purchaser, in addition to his certificate of ownership, could be given a motion picture showing the whole history of his investment. The film could show the

bomb being made, being loaded on the plane, being flown through the night to its target. Then a magnificent shot could picture the fulfillment of its mission—"like a rose of flame," said Mussolini's son of the bombs he dropped on herdsmen's huts in Ethiopia. But why stop there? With a little assistance from the ministry of information, close-ups might be shown of the workingman's home which happened to be hit instead of the military objective. It might even be possible to picture people digging in the ruins. A satisfying final close-up could be provided of the death certificates of the Hun and all his family, since it would probably not be wise to show mangled bodies. Then imagine the sound effects! The roar of motors, the shriek of flames, the screams of the dying—all available on film strips to those who buy enough bombs. Then what a pleasant entertainment to call in one's friends for an evening of home movies and run the film while sitting safe and snug on this side of the Atlantic.

An Unfounded Fear

MINISTERS of the United Church of Canada were recently circularized by a letter written on the stationery of the General Council of the United Church, soliciting subscriptions to a new periodical, then about to be published in the United States. The letter was signed by Rev. Dr. Gordon A. Sisco, secretary of the council, and was accompanied by a prospectus of the new publication. As to the propriety of this apparently official action, The Christian Century has no right to an opinion. The message of the letter, however, is one that concerns the churches on both sides of the unguarded boundary which separates our two countries.

"Some of us," the letter begins, "have been deeply concerned over the confused leadership given by certain liberals in the Christian churches in the United States during the present crisis. We have recognized that such leadership threatens not only the capacity of the Christian church to give adequate and realistic moral guidance and inspiration now and in the post-war period, *but also the continuance of the good relations which should exist between the churches of the United States and Canada.*" The letter refers to this as a "menace," and states that this "menace" is felt by the editors of the new publication no less than by its Canadian promoters.

No doubt both the zeal and the fears of the church headquarters which sponsored this letter were overstimulated by the prevailing war psychology. That there is always peril of division or alienation when the church confronts a war situation is obvious. This is one of the curses of war. But that there exists in the present situation any such menace as is described in the above clause which we have italicized, we do not believe. It is regrettable that, in the name of "good relations" between the churches of Canada and the United States, any attempt should be made to create an actual danger by exaggerating its possibility.

That there is a difference of conviction in American church leadership is frankly recognized. This does not, however, threaten the unity and fellowship of the church in America. Why should it threaten the gracious fellowship and the sense of solidarity which has grown up between the American and Canadian churches?

The divergence of view within the churches of this country primarily concerns the foreign policy of the United States. Canadian policy is not involved. Among American churchmen there are none who presume to have an opinion as to Canada's duty in relation to the war, or to express the slightest hint of disapproval of her participation in it. Canada's duty is for Canadians to decide. America's duty is for Americans to decide. Their respective duties may be identical; but again they may not. Some among us believe they are identical. Others among us hold that they are not. Those who take the latter position hold that this is not America's war. They do not so much as raise the question whether it is Canada's war. They understand and profoundly sympathize with the historical presuppositions which took Canada into the war.

But the United States is not Canada. Our decision must take account of a past, a present and a future which are our own, and not Canada's; just as Canada had to take account of a past, a present and a future which were her own and not ours. Those who oppose America's belligerent participation in the war do so for various reasons, but the Christian opposition rests upon the conviction that such participation not only lacks political justification, but would have consequences far worse for civilization than if the war had been brought to a conclusion by the forces directly involved in it. But this divergence of view among American churchmen does not threaten the unity of the church in the United States. Why, we repeat, should it be a "menace" to the good relations of the churches on the two sides of our invisible boundary line?

Upon one fundamental purpose the churches of the United States are resolutely agreed, namely, that the war issue shall not be the cause of further division among them or of their alienation from the churches of other lands. This holds true even with respect to the churches of those countries whose political order and whose military aggressions our country has already gone to great lengths to resist. The leadership of American Christianity, its rank and file membership, and its united expression in such organs as the Federal Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches has repeatedly declared that the church must ride the present storm without rupture of the body of Christ or poisonous infection of its fellowship.

That this will be a task of vast difficulty, there can be no doubt. But its accomplishment will be seen as a glorious triumph of the spirit and power of Christ when the present tensions and distresses have passed and the church faces anew the tremendous responsibility of bearing a constructive and united witness amid the chaos which the war will leave in its wake. We believe that the same spirit actuates the Canadian churches. And we call upon them, as we call upon ourselves and our own churches, to resist every impulse which assumes that division of conviction concerning the war must spell estrangement within the fellowship of Christ.

As there is no disposition on the part of American

churches to dictate Canada's duty in the war or to criticize her for the course she has chosen, we do not believe that there is any general disposition on the part of Canadian churches to dictate America's duty. And it is regrettable that a contrary sentiment has found even momentary expression in a document which gives the impression that it is the official voice of the United Church of Canada. It is unthinkable that the churches of Canada would threaten a break in their fellowship with those American Christians who see their country's duty in a perspective which forbids their support of America's participation in the war.

Concerning the domestic controversy in the United States we cannot believe that there exists on either side a willingness to allow the good relations between their churches and those of their most friendly neighbor to be imperiled by an issue which our Canadian brethren recognize as one whose decision rests with the United States alone. This is surely true of those American Christians who are striving to keep their country out of the war. We believe it is also true of the minority in the churches who envisage and favor America's participation. But if any church leader or organization or periodical representing the war party in the American church manifests a purpose to incite Canadian pressure upon the anti-war sentiment of the churches of this country by fomenting a threat to the ecumenical fellowship of the church of Christ, our Canadian brethren may be assured that it will receive from American churchmanship itself the sharp condemnation which so unpatriotic and unchristian a course would deserve.

The Need for a Long View

ANOTHER COMMITTEE has entered the propaganda war now being waged in this country. Its membership is distinguished; its patriotism beyond question. That it is animated by the highest motives is sufficiently attested by the fact that its chairman is Bishop Henry W. Hobson of the Episcopal diocese of Southern Ohio. Among its sponsors are retired Bishop Herman Page of Michigan, retired President Neilson of Smith, retired Dean Knudson of Boston, Dr. Ernest Graham Guthrie of the Congregational Union of Chicago, retired General O'Ryan of New York, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia, Dean Evans of the Episcopal Divinity School of Philadelphia, and the present editor of the *Nation,* Miss Freda Kirchwey. The moving spirit is said to be Herbert Agar, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal.* This new organization calls itself the Fight for Freedom Committee. It has been formed to hasten American entrance into the "shooting war."

As is customary, this new committee has published a statement setting forth the reasons which impel it to support immediate American belligerence. Careful study of this document will disclose a state of mind which, we are convinced, is all too widespread among those who favor greater participation by this country in the war. This state of mind tends to exaggerate the importance of immediate situations while almost ignoring future consequences. It keeps its attention so fixed on immediate ends as to miscompute ultimate outcomes. At a time when the nation needs to be guided by long views, it apparently thinks only in terms of next steps. A few quotations from the manifesto of the Hobson committee will serve to illustrate this tendency.

"Once we accept the fact," says the committee, "that we are at war, even though it may be undeclared, we shall at least find a peace within ourselves which can never come as long as we seek safety at the cost of others' sacrifice." Later in the same document the committee declares for American entrance into the war as a means to victory over Hitler, holding that only such a victory can open the way to "a peace based upon justice and human freedom." Such a peace, it wisely adds, will require "a new order in which political, social and economic democracy may develop its full meaning." Then follows this sentence, opening with a phrase which is probably more revealing than its authors intended: "Whatever our ultimate peace objectives, the first immediate step must be the winning of victory."

Unless we totally misread such words as these, they disclose a primary concern with immediate ends. It is the immediate future on which the committee has fastened its eyes. So far as the conduct of the war is concerned, the immediate situation is held to require a victory over Hitler. But so far as American national interests are concerned, the immediate requirement is held to be "peace within ourselves." By inference, the committee thus acknowledges that the nation is not now unified in its war policy. But it calls for all-out participation in the war in the belief that, once the decision to start fighting has been made, national unity will result.

Now it is undeniably true that entrance into war customarily produces national unity of a sort. In the chaotic first weeks of the Lincoln administration in 1861 the secretary of state, William H. Seward, dared propose that the United States trump up a war with Spain, France, Russia and Great Britain—any or all of them together!—as a means of unifying a nation divided over internal issues. When the bands begin to play, when the flags flutter at the head of marching columns, the nation closes ranks. Then it is that the cry arises, "Right or wrong, my country!" And if there are those who show no enthusiasm for the conflict, they are bludgeoned into acquiescence or into silence. Or they may with impunity be sent to Leavenworth and Alcatraz.

But to seek national unity on such a basis is, we are convinced, to base national policy on a short view. Once the guns begin to shoot, we may find a transitory "peace within ourselves" of a sort, but what will happen after the guns fall silent again? Then, so far as can be judged by the present adamant refusal of both London and Washington to give any clear definition to the nature of the proposed peace, there will follow the same disillusionment, the same sense of bitterness and betrayal, that followed America's last excursion into a European conflict. And that will produce an internal dissension which might easily—given the general chaos and world-wide depression which will probably follow the war—cleave this nation to

its very foundations. A long view must be on guard against that future disillusionment.

It will be objected, of course, that the after-effects of American entrance into the war would depend on the character of the peace. But what reason is there to be optimistic on that score? What reason, indeed, is there to be anything but apprehensive? When high-minded Americans, such as compose the Hobson committee, immediately after conceding that a just peace will require the establishment of a new political, social and economic order, can then go on lightheartedly to wave aside this vital issue with the airy words, "Whatever our ultimate peace objectives," and call for immediate war, what are the prospects for a better peace than that of 1919? Daily the outlook, if the United States should enter the war, grows for a long contest, spreading over all the world, and using up the last resources of all the belligerents. Secretary Stimson recently talked about "five years" to a congressional committee. That seems a conservative estimate. Throughout this period hates will grow, the hunger for revenge will sharpen, and at the end the exhausted peoples of the "victor" nations will demand a Carthaginian peace which their governments will not dare deny them. If the United States is one of the victors, it will be as insistent upon such a peace as any of its allies; in its rage at having been drawn into the slaughter it may even prove the most vindictive of all. Its ultimate influence will thus be made to count for a continuation—nay, for an increase—of the world's agony.

Another striking illustration of this need to think ahead to the ultimate effects of American policy was afforded by a passage in an editorial in the *Emporia Gazette* for April 14. No American has given evidence of greater inner stress in attempting to reach a position on the policy which this nation should pursue in relation to the war than the author of this editorial, William Allen White. On the one hand, he has labored prodigiously to promote the sending of supplies to Britain and the other nations attacked by Hitler. On the other, he has consistently opposed American entrance into the conflict. But now Mr. White sees the United States going in despite all his misgivings, and he has tried to reassure himself with such words as these:

> The peace that follows a war is a peace of hate. Until the unholy peace that follows every war is discarded by time or wrecked by events, the peace is worse than the war. So it will be in this war that is coming to all the world. The hates and rages of the war will have to cool before a wise peace can be established. And the only reason why democracy should win today lies in the rather substantial hope that democracy's hates and greeds, its rancors and its lust for power, are less than those of the aggressors, the totalitarian powers.

To admit that an "unholy peace" is bound to follow this war, but nevertheless to seek a justification for our entrance in the hope that our hate, greed and lust for power will prove less deadly than Hitler's, comes perilously close to being a counsel of despair. For such a hope, we believe, is anything but "rather substantial." Given a long and exhausting conflict and such a hope will prove entirely insubstantial. Already the prophets of a new Anglo-American imperialism are launching their campaign to arouse our greed and lust for power; let us but be subjected to the miseries of years of battle and the hate and rancor can be trusted to breed themselves. The hope that finds expression in such a passage as this is as ill founded, as false, as the hope of the Hobson committee that the road to war will prove the road to inner national peace.

Over against such counsel there may well be placed the words of another American journalist of the first rank, William Henry Chamberlin, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* in the same week that produced the two other declarations from which we have already quoted:

> It is quite probable that in the calmer perspective of fifty years hence, Hitler, who looms so ominously on the horizon at the present time, will seem only an episode in a turbulent period of international crisis. The continuity of the fine old liberal civilization of the nineteenth century was interrupted by the First World War; and this war itself was a result of the failure of collective intelligence and good will to grapple effectively with some knotty problems which were posed by the very progress of material civilization. Unrestrained national sovereignty, bellicose nationalism, competitive imperialism, unequal distribution of raw materials—these are the problems which have called vainly for solution and which will confront the peacemakers after the present war.

Mr. Chamberlin, who has gained international repute as a correspondent in Germany, Russia, Japan and France, is taking the long view. He sees the real problems which must be solved if a true peace is to be achieved. If the United States exhausts itself in years of belligerence we believe that it will have neither strength nor wisdom nor patience left to attempt the solution of those problems. But if it can conserve its strength by remaining out of the conflict, we believe that it may be a constructive and hope-awakening factor in the ordering of the post-war world.

The Chariot-Dealer and the Chariot

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It was a pleasant afternoon in spring when my friend the chariot-dealer came to take me for a run in his magnificent automobile. He had business to do in a neighboring city in the interest of Chariots, Limited. I had no engagement that could not be put off, so I went. The conversation which follows is strictly untrue in fact, but true in idea.

It was not his fault that the chariot stopped suddenly and obstinately; he is a good driver. But it could not have stopped at a less convenient place. Around us were long stretches of open country, and no one was in sight. It was no ordinary stop; not a throb came from the mighty heart of the machine.

Then I spoke: "Friend of many years, you will soon put this little thing right. Who so fitted for such a crisis as a director of the business which turns out this marvel of a machine?"

"What are you talking about?" he asked with a suspicion of a snarl. "I know no more about the inside of this machine than you do; perhaps less."

"No!" I interrupted. "That cannot be."

"Anyhow," he resumed, "if you think that a man who has the job of financing the company has time to know how the things are made, you do not live in a real world. 'Antediluvian' seems to describe you."

"Well," I answered calmly, "since it looks as if we must spend a few hours in this plain, it may be well for us to talk this out. Let me put a question: would that undoubted gift of yours which enables you to fit your business into the Big World of Finance be equally well used if you manufactured clothes or boots or books?"

"Certainly," he said. "As a matter of fact, I sit on the boards of other companies. Chariots are not my only line. I am just as useful when I deal with books."

"You don't know what is in the books?" I asked.

"Not in the least," he answered. "It is other people's job to make the things, book or what not; I simply see that they are sold."

"I see," I answered; "but I must tell you, friend of my youth, that you are an imposter."

"A what?" he shouted.

"I know you are an admirable character," I said unmoved. "You are also a model to all elders in your church. But as a responsible dealer in chariots you are an imposter, and you represent one of the most dangerous phases in modern business. You are, I repeat, a lamentable sign of social decay."

"You mean to say, you miserable survival of a primitive world," he cried out, "that those who deal with chariots should be at least able to earn their living in some part of the process?"

"I do," I answered. "If I had my way I should break in upon your board meeting, declare it adjourned, take all of you into the place where the things are made, and find jobs for you to see which of you really knew what the splendid workmanship of your chariots involves."

"Do you mean," he asked, "that I should be more useful there than at the head of things?"

"No," I replied, "but I do mean that the influence of what is called Big Finance upon industry, taken by itself, has been one of the curses of these times. In some ways the days were better when men could think of the head of the business as one of themselves, who could hold his own with the best of them."

But at this point a friendly automobile was seen afar off, and soon a skilled hand made the chariot start upon its way. "I ought never to take you out again," my friend remarked. "But I shall."

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

1941

THE conflagration spreads from East to West,
Fanned by the wild typhoon of blind desire;
O heretic World, is it your turn to breast
The waves of your own Inquisition fire?
And, guilty in your sin, we too shall burn
With you for dualistic heresy—
God's Internationale you sought to turn
Into a Babel built on slavery:
You've made of science a device to keep
God's love forever clamped to wheels of greed,
That whirring work the limbs of men and reap
Earth's bounty, leave earth's children free to feed
On spiritual bread: O wealth-drunk World!
God's common Fatherhood you've shut within
Domestic walls, religious roofs, unfurled
Your blood-stained flag—to legalize your sin.

Injustice like a dark volcano grows
Unknown beneath the citadels of power,
Until the boiling cauldron overflows
With furious energy, and giants cower
Before the fiery, elemental might
Of that volcanic vengeance. No escape
Is there for men and nations who will slight
God's law of justice. Oh, the grievous rape
Of Freedom on a hundred Calvaries
Shall be avenged: the awful hour draws nigh.
Come, Freedom's lovers, let your agonies
Become the bonds of brotherhood, defy
The priests of Baal—Race, Class and Creed—and stand,
Ye dauntless spirits, God-inspired to build,
From out the wreckage, with repentant hand,
That beauteous world which God's own love hath willed.

CYRIL MODOK.

The Lost Word

IN friendly tones that breathed of love and heaven
He talked with his disciples by the sea.
One simple, forthright word to them was given—
A word that we have lost—"Come, follow Me."

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Toward Harvest

HERE in this fertile field that is the world
We stand in spring, fingering tender seeds,
Conscious that in those furrows are dank weeds,
Entangling roots, tap-deep and tightly curled;
And that the hard, the sudden early rain
Will make sharp hollows, loosening the sand,
Cutting across the surface of the land,
Uprooting new sown, unprotected grain.

Yet we must plant, for seeds were meant to grow
Into the vigorous food that nurtures us. . . .
Pray that more laborers move along each row,
Careful and cool, patient and arduous,
Struggling with soil, with rain, with drought, with heat,
That fields may bend at last in flowing wheat.

SARA KING CARLETON.

The Non-Conformist Conscience

By Nels F. S. Ferré

RECENT WRITERS have placed the war issue before us as a dilemma between perfectionism and participation in war. Pacifism, they say, is both an unrealistic and a pharisaic perfectionism: unrealistic because by its refusal to enter the arena of violence it weakens the cause of those who fight for justice, thus strengthening the hands of aggressors; pharisaic because it confines its perfectionism to a limited area of political conflict, while winking at the inescapable participation of all in a political order that is necessarily infected with sin. This, however, is not the basic question which the Christian confronts. The real issue is between constant and complete conformity to the political order and occasional and specific non-conformity.

It is untrue to say that the pacifist lays claim to personal perfection. Surely, mere abstention from war gives no occasion for spiritual pride. We are all sinful and participate in a sinful order. The fact that perfection is humanly impossible does not mean, however, that we are always left with no choice save unlimited participation in power politics. Even though we are imperfect and must make imperfect choices while living in and with an evil world, it does not follow that non-conformity is not at times both the most Christian and the most practical choice. Otherwise Niemöller, for example, had no choice except between pharisaism and preaching the nazi creed. In his case, however, his choice was both the most Christian and the most practical.

The Limit of Compromise

The basic question is: How far may a Christian conform to the ways of the world? Can he stop at any point? In a democracy this question becomes especially acute. What right has an individual or a minority to oppose in non-conforming action the registered will of the majority? What right have the few to thrust their conscience athwart the decision of the many? Many Christians are sincerely asking if the pacifist position does not in the end amount to anarchy. Or is there some definite line where a minority may resist the majority by non-conforming action?

There is. A Christian may participate positively in a political order so long as he is allowed to confess Christ in both word and deed. That point, of course, varies with the depth and clarity of each man's conscience. We all share sinful natures and a sinful order. In our ignorance and selfishness we all continually compromise Christ. Yet we are not compelled to do so by our political order without opportunity for protest and reforming activity. It is true that money we pay for schools may go to graft. Our taxes help to maintain the war department and to finance a war. Even part of our own salaries as teachers or ministers or business men may come from profit in war industries. Yet we are free to protest, and we are free to work for measures of reform and improvement.

Thus, while remembering our own evil, we can be loyal to and cooperative with an evil social order. But when laws are passed which force the Christian citizen openly to participate in what he holds to be contrary to Christ and which bid him in the name of patriotism to make no protest against such participation—then such a Christian must become a non-conformist. We all participate in the affairs of a nation where some people drink, for instance; yet without being holier-than-thou many of us work against this evil in both profession and practice. If the nation, however, should pass a law forbidding us to protest against this evil, or should decree that we ourselves must drink though we believe drinking to be sin, the case would become radically different. The first case calls for conformity; the second, for non-conformity.

A False Dilemma

Similarly and more acutely, we can be loyal to a government that wages war so long as we are free to witness against the evil by both word and deed. If, however, the government should forbid our conscientious witness for Christ, or if the nation should compel us to betray him by forcing us to participate in the war, our choice would have to be to obey God rather than men. The distant future may reveal that those who refused to register for the recent draft were fighting in the first line of defense for liberty of speech and religion. If such liberties must be curtailed in wartime, the special situation which calls for non-conformity is created. But it is not created by any "pitiless" and pharisaical "perfectionism" of the objectors, but by the evils which inhere in power politics. Thus the simple dilemma between perfectionism and political conformity is a false dilemma and radically misrepresents the Christian's choice.

This liberty of Christian conscience, however, must not be one-sided. The pacifists have no right to condemn the conscience of those who feel that a special political situation like war calls for their participation. Both the Christian pacifist and the Christian soldier try sincerely to serve Christ by opposing the tyranny of evil. We who believe that we can serve Christ best by non-participation surely deny his spirit if we accuse our brethren of "crucifying Christ afresh." Who made us judges for Christ in this complicated world? The least we can do is to attribute sincerity to all who profess and try to practice the Christian way of life.

Jesus and Paul

Those, however, who believe that constant and positive participation in all aspects of power politics is the only constructive way to combat evil must recall that the early Christian church held otherwise. Jesus' friendly relations with soldiers, publicans and sinners did not mean that he sanctioned their professions and way of life. He was a conformist even to the paying of tribute to Rome. Yet his denunciation of the evils in the temple and similar testi-

monies against evil led him to a non-conformist's death. Paul conformed, and if Romans 13 is his, he even grounded ordinary conformity to government in the will of God. Yet those who use this statement of Paul's to justify full conformity forget that he, too, went to a non-conformist's death. The early disciples were obedient to earthly authority except for their refusal to cease preaching Christ, to go to war, and to worship the emperor. Yet this non-conformist attitude, this refusal to betray Christ in word or deed, led them to death as martyrs. Who will say that their influence did not affect the history of politics? Who will say that they have had no practical effect on the world?

The Present Struggle

Let us offer one more consideration to those who berate pacifists as impractical idealists conniving with evil and acquiescing in tyranny. Many believe that the basic revolution of our times is the revolt of the masses. An editorial in the *Boston Herald* on New Year's Day summarized this interpretation exceptionally well. It speaks of an understanding of today's events which originates "not in a retreat from reality but from a clearer and more honest recognition of the period of world history in which we live." It characterizes our times as the age of "the revolt of the masses."

In England and in the United States respectively this revolt took a mild form in the Labor government after the war and in the New Deal. But "the particular objective of this revolt is the capitalist regime gradually established by Britain, Holland, the United States and a few other like-minded countries." The editorial proceeds to affirm that this is "the common point of attack" of the nazi soldier in France, the Japanese soldier in Shanghai, the communist agitator in New York, the midwestern farmer, the coal mine striker in Kentucky, and the Townsend Club member in Vermont. "Hitler was not the first to diagnose it correctly as the struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' "

Is Democracy a Luxury?

Those of us who believe that the present struggle is basically economic, dread fully as much as do the interventionists the oppression of dictators both at home and abroad. We also believe earnestly in democracy. But we recognize that democracy, as Dulles said at the Federal Council meeting in Philadelphia last year, may be a selfish luxury. We believe that tyranny abroad among the "have-nots" is caused in large measure by the hardness of heart of us who "have," and can never be overcome except by both a change of heart and an effective reorganization of the production and distribution of the world's goods. What may happen is that we may allow tyranny to establish itself at home in order to protect our possessions from the tyranny rooted in poverty abroad. If the basic struggle today is that of capitalistic monopoly against the masses, of privilege against poverty, would it not be a sorry thing for the Christian church to support the former against the latter? A report to the Federal Council in Atlantic City recently showed how sadly the church had failed with the masses. Can it be that future godlessness will look back on our church as on the Russian church which fell because it linked monarchy and aristocracy with Orthodoxy?

But our aim is not to argue the merits of our position. It is merely to give reason for our right to hold our position. We understand the position and the devoted Christian spirit of those who differ with us. Before God, it may prove to be we who are saying, "Lord, Lord," and do not his will. But at least one person groping for guidance feels that the choice is not between *our* perfection and participation in war. When he was ordained to the Christian ministry, he honestly felt that he was set aside to witness in all humility but without compromise to *the perfection of Christ*. Such witness he feels to be supremely relevant in the practical situation; for even though it may mean for us and for our day a cross, history shows that the foolishness of God in the long run is stronger than the wisdom of men. There can be no basic salvation for the social order until the intensive Christian fellowship grows extensive enough effectively to include it.

The Christian Must Decide

We must consequently reject the dilemma which demands that we either participate in war or acknowledge that we are pharisaic perfectionists. It is a superficial and distorted dilemma, thoroughly unreal. Surely, if Christian ethics possesses any intrinsic truth, complete, constant and unquestioning conformity to secular standards is unthinkable. The Christian citizen may not let the state become his moral dictator. Every Christian must, therefore, decide at what point his conscience finds that compromise is no longer tolerable because he is no longer participating in a constructive situation. At that very point he must choose constructive non-conformity. Our suggestion is that this point is reached when a Christian is no longer allowed to confess Christ fully in word and deed. When such witness involves non-conformity it is in no sense a witness to our perfection. It is rather our sincere and continued confession of faith in the perfection of Christ.

Nor can we accept the dilemma that we must either participate in war or become ivory-towered visionaries or impractical idealists, whom it may be good to have around in limited numbers to remind the world of Christian principles. There is nothing in the world more practical than Christian principles. When the world is out of joint they are more needed than ever. The cross of Christ must not be pushed to "the edge of history." It stands as the very center of God's work in human affairs. Too long have we been practical in the false sense of trusting secular culture and humanistic progress. In an age of epochal transitions history is particularly in need of the light from Calvary.

In the light of history, is it impractical not to conform because of our allegiance to Christ? Who more than he has changed the world? If Christianity is a kind of community in Christ which is commanded to be the light of a confused world and the salt for a civilization threatened with decay, who among us will insist that its sincere practice is impractical in the very hour of the greatest need for it? The vicious circle of wars and more wars keeps revolving in the history of secular civilization. Only resolute faith in the transforming power of the cross of Christ, both preached and practiced, can break that circle.

Do the French Want Democracy?

By Charles A. Micaud

IT IS generally agreed that one of the main purposes of our entry into the war would be to re-establish democracy in Europe as the basis of the reorganization of that continent and of the world. Then "everything will be for the best in the best of possible worlds," as Maitre Pangloss used to say to Candide. The question is seldom raised whether the rules of democracy, such as they were, can be re-established in the European countries where they have failed. The general belief is that a few bad men, aided by circumstance, have seized power against the will of the European peoples, and that the peoples will be only too happy to regain their freedom and to renew their democratic traditions. Americans who hate fascism apparently expect that a promise of peace and economic prosperity will be enough to guarantee the success of a restored European democratic system essentially, if not in details, the same as the one which has failed.

It is my conviction that democracy is bound to fail again in some of these countries, and that any system of international organization for peace will be threatened unless a fundamentally new democratic system is put into practice. The story of France in the last few years—which is also the story of Italy, Germany and Spain—justifies such a conclusion. In each of these countries the main cause for the success of fascism was the fear of Marxism which made the upper and middle classes accept fascism as the lesser evil. It may be true that the German and Italian upper and middle classes expected to find in fascism a dictatorship devoted to their class interests and that it was too late for them to rebel when they realized that the new dictatorship was interested only in preserving its own power at the expense of every social class, including their own. But this is less true of Spain, where the bourgeoisie and aristocracy had already recognized the real character of fascism, and it is even less true of France. That unhappy country may well serve to illustrate the status of democracy in Europe.

Purposes of the Petain Government

Just what is the character of the present government of unoccupied France? There are those who argue that the Petain government is not fascist, or that, if it is, that is because it has been imposed on the helpless but disapproving people by the new master of France. Yet the "new order" set in motion by the Petain government undoubtedly shows some of the characteristics of fascism—a fascism adapted to French conditions, a fascism *à la française*. On the other hand, what little direct information one can gather today concerning French public opinion makes it plain that the bulk of the bourgeoisie and part of the farmers are decidedly behind the Petain policy of forced cooperation with Germany. This attitude is completely in line with the history of the past few years.

On the basis of the last general elections in the spring of 1936 it can be safely estimated that the French "right," or about 50 per cent of the electorate, accepts the Petain government for two main reasons: because it believes that it is no longer threatened by the Marxist danger and that the marshal is the only man who can bring about that *réconciliation* of all Frenchmen which has been advocated for years by M. de la Rocque, founder of the notorious Croix de feu. Incidentally, to De la Rocque reconciliation meant forcing the working class to abandon its evil Marxist dreams and "disciplining" it as in Germany and Italy. The bourgeois realize that acceptance of this new social order means the sacrifice of some of their economic privileges, but they are willing to make the sacrifice for the sake of security. That is precisely the point. There is no doubt that capitalist democracy is more advantageous to the privileged classes than fascism. Fascism, in limiting profits and controlling production, disowns liberal economy, and it imposes a discipline hard for all to accept. Therefore the upper and middle classes would not accept it willingly unless they were forced to do so by fear of a greater evil. Why was democracy unable to allay their fear?

Coming of the Popular Front

Going back several years in the history of the third French republic we find that in 1935 the bourgeoisie was still largely true to the republic, even if not enthusiastic about the parliamentary system as it then operated. M. Flandin dreamed of an alliance between his own group, the "Alliance démocratique," with the progressive "Radicaux Socialistes," a party which had been curiously torn between its desire to coalesce with the Marxist parties and its fear of communism. M. Flandin was the advocate of a true democracy of the English type—of course with a stronger executive, but only to remedy the obvious defects of the French parliamentary system. M. de la Rocque had created a fascist party but he recruited his followers mostly from among war veterans and young men attracted by the excitement and the halo of glory which surrounded the semi-military organization of the Croix de feu. Few bourgeois joined the fascist group. Democracy was in no danger; the bourgeois did not believe that Marxism constituted a real and immediate peril to them. They looked upon the Croix de feu and similar organizations merely as useful weapons against the ever present possibility of a communist revolution.

By the middle of 1935, when the Popular Front launched its first impressive demonstration in Paris on Bastille Day, the picture had already changed. The unholy alliance between the two Marxist parties, Communist and Socialist, and a *petit bourgeois* party, the Radical Socialist, was a direct threat to bourgeois security. The municipal elections of that year revealed the great gains communism had made among the electorate.

Hence communism became public enemy Number One. The change was reflected notably in the attitude of the parties of the right toward both Soviet Russia and nazi Germany. Until 1935 the right had maintained its tradi-

tional hostility toward Germany and had accepted—not very enthusiastically, to be sure—the idea of the pact of mutual assistance with Soviet Russia which M. Laval signed in Moscow. But in the fall of 1935, after the creation of the Popular Front, a violent press campaign against ratification of the pact got under way. When the pact came to the Chamber of Deputies in February 1936 the right, with but a few exceptions, voted against it. Shortly after, when Hitler reoccupied the demilitarized Rhineland zone, only a few voices advocated the taking of sanctions, military or economic, against Germany.

Fear of Communism Dominant

From that time on, it became clear that the nazi peril seemed less menacing to the right than the threat of communism. The main arguments used by the right against the Franco-Russian pact were that communism could not be fought at home if France was allied with Soviet Russia, and that Russia wanted France to fight Germany in order to start a bolshevik revolution in a Europe exhausted by war. They even admitted in some of their newspapers that a victory over Germany would be against the best interests of the French bourgeoisie, for in the event of a French victory communism would replace nazism in Germany and thus become a much greater threat to France. The new policy of the right toward Germany culminated at Munich and ultimately was one of the reasons for the swift defeat of France. M. Flandin, representing the most moderate element of the right, was in favor of the Franco-Russian pact in February 1936, but by 1938 he had become the most ardent advocate of a Franco-German rapprochement.

After the advent of the Popular Front in May 1936 the right began to think, whether justifiably or not, that the gains made by the socialists and communists in the general elections would keep increasing until the Marxists won control of the government at the expense of the privileged classes. The only hope they entertained in that year was that the bourgeois party in the leftist coalition would act as a brake on the Marxists and that it might finally become convinced of its mistake in having allied itself with the communists. They were right in their expectation, since the Radical Socialists broke the leftist coalition after two unhappy years of unstable cooperation. But the experiment left the bourgeois with a bitter outlook: how long would they be able to maintain a small majority in the Chamber, in view of the quick successes of the Marxist parties? Would not universal suffrage ultimately bring about their doom?

Fascist Parties Grow

The growth of the fascist parties in France after 1936 shows that there was good reason for this bourgeois desperation. The Croix de feu was dissolved but Colonel de la Rocque replaced his illegal child by a legal one, the "Parti Social Français," which lost some of the glamor and militancy of its predecessor but gained the active support of the Catholic middle class. A former communist deputy, J. Doriot, created in the same year the "Parti Populaire Français," an openly fascist party, which took from De la Rocque his most revolutionary followers and a number of dissatisfied citizens from among the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to evaluate the exact strength of these parties, but it was generally believed in France before the war that the P. S. F. had become by far the strongest party of the right.

The general tone of the press, which is a good barometer of French rightist public opinion, revealed the growing pro-fascist feeling. Not only Mussolini, who had always been the darling of the right, but Franco and even Hitler, at least until the invasion of Bohemia in March 1939, were spoken of with open admiration by the majority of the conservative newspapers. These same newspapers strongly advocated an anti-Marxist crusade. Again, each time it became necessary to form a new government in the final years of the republic, the name of Petain was suggested in the conservative press and even more frequently in private conversations.

On the basis of these facts of recent history, it may be safely stated that Petain, the man, the war hero, the Catholic, the bourgeois, now has the backing of the old French right and possibly of the majority of the French people, for better or for worse. It may also safely be stated that this majority of Frenchmen do not want a return to the old parliamentary system, not only because of its defects—admitted by all impartial observers—but mostly because of fear of the ultimate triumph of Marxism.

'New Order' Preferred

Whether or not this fear is justified is of no importance; it is there, a strong and genuine fear. It is more than doubtful that that fear would quickly disappear even under a new international order which brought peace and prosperity. The tradition of Marxism is too strong in France for the right to hope that the working class would become reconciled to liberal economy. Even if their standard of living were raised and if unemployment should disappear, the workers would still believe that socialism or communism would bring them a better life.

It seems clear that for the French bourgeois his class interests outweigh the interests of the nation. Hence it would be unrealistic for us to expect the present French government, and the bourgeoisie which backs it, to give us any help in freeing them from nazi Germany for the purpose of re-establishing the democratic system which they are only too glad to have replaced by the "new order."

Such being the situation democracy can be successful in France only if an agreement on fundamentals is reached between right and left. What are the possibilities of finding a compromise between Marxism and liberal economy? The working class which refuses to believe in liberal economy might accept a state socialism under which the government would control production and organize distribution, assure employment, reduce the inequalities of wealth and bring security and comfort to all; but it would accept such a system only if a real social revolution accompanied its material advantages. I mean by this that the idea itself as well as the fact of privilege must be abolished.

The French are too realistic a people to believe that men ever have been or ever will be equals, even under

Marxism, in spite of the slogan of equality which so long has decorated the *fronton* of most of the country's public buildings. But they do believe in the desirability and possibility of a true equality of opportunities. That means the end of privileges, either of wealth through inheritance or of education; it means also the end of the present inequality of prestige between the social classes, and ultimately the end of the classes themselves, or more exactly their transformation into functional groups necessary to one another but not mortal rivals.

The Future of Class Privilege

But is there any possibility that the privileged classes will voluntarily abandon their privileges? (For our purpose the middle classes, even the white collar workers, belong to the privileged classes, simply because they believe that they do.) This seems possible only if in return for their material sacrifices they obtain security of another kind—functional security, the certainty that they are, as the managerial group, necessary cogs in the machine and that they will not sooner or later be suppressed as nonessential, as Marxism would do. They have already accepted Petain's "new order" and the sacrifice of economic freedom it entails. They might go further if they find it possible to reconcile the working classes to the new system, instead of disciplining them by force, which is always a dangerous method.

But the bourgeois do not have faith that, under universal suffrage, their future security through recognition of their functional necessity will be assured. To them, if universal suffrage returns, it will be only a question of waiting for the suppression that will inevitably come when a sufficient number of *petits bourgeois* realize that they do not really belong to the privileged classes and accept Marxism.

During recent years France has produced an abundant literature on corporatism. It was generally agreed among the anti-Marxist political economists that the political parliament elected by universal suffrage should be replaced by an economic parliament in which the interests of the managerial class, labor, the farmers and the consumers would be equally represented. These men argued that since profit-making has always proved both necessary and dangerous, it should be kept as the motive power of the economic engine, but its dangerous element should be removed by state control.

Corporatism and Democracy

Moreover, Marxism was held to be out of the question since it was opposed not merely by the relatively small number of privileged people or *grands bourgeois,* but also by the great masses of the French *petits bourgeois* and the farmers; in other words, that it is psychologically impossible of realization in a country predominantly bourgeois, like France. But the corporative school recognized the justice of many of the Marxist criticisms of liberal economy and hence emphasized the necessity of a social revolution which would outdo Marxism. The privileged classes, they believed, would be willing to sacrifice their privileges provided they were protected from the threat of Marxism. As to the laboring classes, the corporatists thought that these would accept the social and economic reorganization required as soon as they realized that state socialism would be to their best interests.

It is not dangerous to prophesy that the "new order" of the Petain government will be based on the principle of corporatism, but under a dictatorship. Since corporatism appears to be the only solution to the class struggle by bringing about agreement on fundamentals, the question now is, Is corporatism compatible with democracy?

The classic argument is that corporatism can work only under a dictatorship, because the interests of labor and capital are fundamentally opposed, and because the new economic parliament could never agree on matters of policy. But this contention has never been proved; on the contrary, corporatism does not seem to work at all well under a dictatorship of the fascist type. But suppose a strong executive is necessary to induce the functional groups to reach a compromise: the answer might be that a government of experts, periodically elected by the economic chamber with quasi-absolute power during its tenure of office, would be the first and most important compromise between the rival groups. Moreover, such an arrangement would open the way to the even more essential compromise between liberal economy and Marxism. The political parliament could be maintained as a useful psychological transition from one system to the other and would have the important function of serving as a barometer of public opinion as well as a legislator on minor questions.

The Choice France Faces

Whatever the system we propose for disillusioned France, it must be audacious and dynamic enough to outdo Marxism and give a new faith in democracy wherever this faith has been lost. It is useless and dangerous to think that democracy as it works in our country can work as well anywhere else. The failure of democracy in France and in most countries of Continental Europe is due to causes more acute than obtain in the Anglo-Saxon countries. In these, favorable economic conditions, together with a dislike for theorizing and above all an old tradition of compromise and tolerance, have slowed down the progress of Marxism and kept alive a general loyalty to democratic principles. But we cannot be blind to the facts which are at the bottom of democratic failure in Europe, and if we are called to fight once more to keep the world safe for democracy, we must at least have reason to hope that our struggle will not be futile.

Mr. Laski, who being a Marxist democrat is intolerantly tolerant, may be quoted to emphasize my point on the necessity of a compromise: "In any period . . . where men differ profoundly upon matters of social constitution the procedures of democracy are at a discount until a new equilibrium of agreement has been found. If it cannot be found, it must be imposed by force; in the latter event it must obviously contradict the vital implications of a democratic scheme."

A new "social constitution" must be found for France which could gain the unanimous support of all classes. The alternative is dictatorship by one class or by one man, Marxism or fascism.

Doctors Deserve a Better Deal

By T. Swann Harding

IT HAS BEEN SAID that doctors give away a million dollars' worth of their services every day. If that is true, it is a disgrace. In general doctors do not overcharge, and they deserve to have their bills paid. More than four thousand years ago the code of the Babylonian King Hammurabi fixed detailed schedules for doctors' fees.

High medical fees were common in ancient Egypt and India, though ancient Greek doctors usually worked on salaries paid out of taxes. Quintus Stertinius, an aristocratic Roman doctor, is said to have had an income of $30,000 a year and to have made $10,000 by curing one patrician. Several ancient Roman physicians left large fortunes. C. Stertinius Zenophon, who is supposed to have assisted in poisoning Emperor Claudius with a meal of mushrooms, left more than $1,760,000 when he went to his heavenly reward, though the military doctors of Julius Caesar's army got but $50 a year and free board!

A Record Fee

To go back nearly 1,200 years we find that the favorite physician of Haroun-al-Raschid of Arabia was paid $1,500 annually for "bleeding and purging the Commander of the Faithful." For his other services he received $2,500 a month and a New Year's purse of $6,500, so his total annual income was comfortable at least and he is said to have estimated his lifetime earnings at ten million dollars. On one occasion, when he returned from banishment to treat a nobleman, he is said to have been paid $125,000 for the job, undoubtedly the highest doctor's fee in all history.

In eighteenth century Europe it is estimated that the incomes of regular physicians ranged from $3,000 to $90,000 a year, while quacks usually made even more. The outstanding fee of this later period is reported to have been the $50,000 a physician was paid for inoculating Catherine of Russia and her son against smallpox, to which was added $10,000 for traveling expenses and a life pension of $2,500. One may be permitted to speculate, however, regarding what would have happened to this doctor had one of his patients died.

Naturally fees of such size brought regulation in their wake. Frederick II as early as 1224 required physicians by edict to treat the poor for nothing. He also established a fee of 35 cents for office calls and for visits to patients who lived within city limits. For calls outside the fee was $3 if the physician bore his own expenses and $2.25 if the patient footed them.

Louis I. Reed says that, in 1936, about a third of our modern American physicians earned less than $2,500 a year and 15 per cent less than $1,500, while the average income of the high-priced (to us) private-duty nurse was $843! Physicians' incomes are higher in metropolitan areas, of course, and they tend to reach a maximum only between the fifteenth and the nineteenth year of practice. Physicians on salary—and one-seventh of our doctors are so employed—receive little less income, on an average, than those who depend on fees.

Free Service

While it is estimated that doctors give the people of the United States $300,000,000 worth of free services a year —a million dollars' worth a day as Morris Fishbein puts it —this must be accepted with much qualification. For one thing, the free service given has educational value for the physician. For a second, it enables him to meet relatives and friends of his free patients who are in better circumstances and who can pay him for services. Third, and more important, insofar as a doctor has a hospital staff appointment the free service is well repaid because it enables him to use an average of $30,000 worth of hospital equipment free in the pursuit of his own private business. Fourth, and last, as is well known, doctors overcharge the wealthy in order to sustain their "free" services to the poor, thus informally exacting what amounts to a tax.

Much of this free service is also quite involuntary, for doctors' collections on bills seldom exceed 60 per cent at best. However, only about one-third of all the money we spend for medical care actually goes to physicians in private practice. It is true that a doctor of small competence but fascinating manner may occasionally clean up. But the common run of competent, conscientious doctors get relatively small remuneration. The trouble is elsewhere. The profession of medicine has failed to adjust itself to vast changes in its scientific and economic environment.

Meanwhile the American College of Surgeons estimated in 1937 that American workers lose two billion dollars annually in wages because of disabling illnesses that are very largely preventable. In other words, these illnesses would not occur if we spent more generously on public health services and preventive medicine. But since 1915 there has been an increasing tendency for industry to aid in financing the medical care of wage earners. However, this has decidedly not placed an increased burden upon industrialists. The American College of Surgeons stated that, instead, employers had saved huge sums in reduced labor turnover and by maintaining healthier and therefore happier and more efficient workers. The incidence of occupational diseases, absences from work and accidents was reduced signally.

A Farsighted Company

As an instance consider the testimony of W. D. Moore, president of the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, of Birmingham, Alabama, before the Senate subcommittee on education and labor which held hearings on the so-called Wagner health bill. The date was May 12, 1939. The pipe company had a potential case load of 5,000 employees and their families for whom it provided a complete medical service entirely free of charge. In 1937 the capital investment was $125,000 and the operating budget

was $75,000, a personnel of 25 being employed. The service was originally started with employee contributions but these were eliminated in 1922.

Why had the company undertaken to do this? Not from charitable impulses, but because it paid. Furthermore the setup could readily take care of a potential case load four times that at present, which would reduce the annual cost per patient to $15. Here is one form of adjustment to modern conditions making it economically possible for a group of people to have all the general and specialized medical care they need.

Today about three-quarters of our people fail to get the medical care they should, while nine out of ten receive inadequate dental care. This is not the fault of doctors or dentists, except insofar as organized groups of them fight plans for rational readjustment that would spread both costs and care more widely and more equitably. We have the knowledge, the equipment and the skilled professional staff to give all our people all the medical care they need. We already spend enough money on medical care to accomplish this. What we suffer from is a lack of scientific organization and too much economic mythology. While industry has changed vastly and monopoly has repealed the old laws of free competition, physicians still strive competitively for a living and profess faith in traditional economic folklore.

Scientific Anarchy

Such competition is most unfortunate. The fact that the members of the medical and dental professions have managed to preserve as high a level of ethics and professional competence as they have is almost miraculous. Yet, while they are organized to protect what many of them regard as their vested economic interests, there is almost complete anarchy in the matter of scientific organization.

You become ill of some condition that does not lend itself readily to treatment by the local doctor. In the old days when a man fell victim to a malignant condition like cancer he got six months' treatment from the "family" doctor at a cost of about $50 and passed on. Today things are very different. For one thing, in the majority of cases, the individual has no family doctor.

If he appeals to a general practitioner the doctor calls an "internist" to diagnose his case. This diagnosis is confirmed by x-ray and laboratory tests. The patient goes to the hospital and further laboratory expenses crop up. Then there is the operation followed by a critical illness with high-priced nurses attending. At the end of this the patient returns home (say after three months) and he may and usually does live much longer than his predecessor a generation or two ago. He too pays the general practitioner $50. But the internist gets $50 also. The hospital gets $600, the surgeon $500, the nurses at least $200, consultants $100; x-ray, laboratory and incidental expenses come to $150. If the total does not exceed $1,500 to $1,800 the patient got off easy.

Yet the Homestead Mining Corporation provides for its employees medical services that would cost $175,000 annually by the fee system for a mere bargain price of $79,000—by utilizing sound organization. In one year members of the Ross-Loos clinic paid only $217,000 for medical services that would have cost them more than half a million had they had to procure it from disorganized private practice.

What is the secret? Organization. Organization which groups all types of people professionally qualified in medical science and all their aids and equipment right at one place and which, in addition, so spreads the payments among a large group that no one pays any considerable sum. Industrial concerns, as we have seen, often find the service pays for itself and profits them without employee contributions.

Authority Needed

Medicine has become a complex of many specialties, plus laboratories, expensive equipment, great institutions. It involves pharmacy, bacteriology, chemistry, occupational therapy, preventive measures, economics, sociology, and above all rationally planned organization. It also involves a greater degree of professional authority than private practice can afford. For the doctor to whom we pay a fee must see things more or less our way or we shall go to some other doctor. Yet when we decide to go to some great group clinic like Mayo our exercise of free choice is limited to the selection of the clinic as a whole. We get the doctor we need, not the one we merely like personally. Since all the doctors are competent we are far better off, too, and far more likely to be well attended, than when we shop around and make free choice of doctors among whom many are, by admission of physicians themselves, shockingly incompetent.

We are likely to overlook the fact that we as a people have financed our medical institutions. The doctors did not unaided found the hospitals, clinics and sanatoriums. They do not own them. We own them. The funds to provide them came from the public through taxation or through charity. The capital investment once made cannot be withdrawn and otherwise utilized. In 1936 also we paid an average of $43.17 per family per year for medical care—if the family income was under $1,200; but the figure was $90.57 for incomes between $2,000 and $3,000; it was $246.61 for incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 and it rose to $506.21 per family per year for families with incomes of $10,000 or more. In part this is because low-income families receive some medical service free and high-income families are overcharged to help pay for it.

What Is Possible

But the army post at Fort Benning, Georgia, gives good medical service at a rate of less than $23 per person per year and certain industrial concerns turn the trick for as low as $15 or $20 per person per year. Louis I. Reed states that good medical care, exclusive of dentistry, can be provided with properly organized facilities for as little as $17.50 per person per year or about $72 per family, at present price levels. But today families do not expend that much until the incomes reach $3,000 and at least three-quarters of all our families receive less than that per year. Assume that fully adequate medical care would have cost as much as $27.50 per person per year in 1929,

at top prices—say $3,355,000,000 for our entire population. Add in $600,000,000 to take care of public health work and hospitalization for the chronic ailments and mental cases, and the total is very nearly that which actually was expended for the inadequately spread medical care provided in 1929!

Why was the 1929 medical care so ill provided then? Because of disorganization. Take just one thing. The per capita expenditure for drugs was $6, yet doctors at Fort Benning got along with 72 cents' worth per capita, the Homestead Mining Company used but $1.18 worth of medicine and the group at Roanoke Rapids only $1.26 worth. College and university clinics usually use but 25 to 50 cents' worth of drugs per capita. Why then that $6?

For one thing because high-priced proprietary drugs with trade names are used entirely too much in private medical practice. U. S. Pharmacopeia drugs under their proper scientific names are quite as good. A group of a dozen proprietary drugs was found to average $25.30 per ounce in cost whereas the identical group could be bought under their proper chemical names for $6.40 an ounce, hence consumers paid $18.90 per ounce of drug simply to get a trade name on it. Our drug bill is at present at least $450,000,000 a year higher than it needs to be. We also support at least 40,000 medical quacks and charlatans. That costs us a quarter of a billion dollars a year.

The economical purchase and use of drugs, the consolidation of office space and equipment that accompany rationally planned medical practice, would effect huge savings. Furthermore, while it costs a great deal to support permanently disabled persons, many of them could be kept in active occupations if their minor ills were promptly and properly diagnosed and treated. All this sound organization would effect.

Nor would such organization serve the physicians ill. They would earn just as much as, if not more than, they do now. But they would earn it regularly. Their income would not cease abruptly whenever they were ill or took a vacation. They could order their lives and have definite leisure periods for rest and recreation.

Why Such Anger?

It seems incredible that in 1932 the Medical Society of the State of New York should denounce members of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care as "intellectual carpetbaggers who threaten American medicine with paternalism" merely because the committee suggested the extension of some such group practice. Much was said also about "a disgraceful prostitution of a traditionally charitable and indulgent medical profession." Why this violent antipathy? Physicians are often charitable but, as we have seen, in gross this charity is repaid them. The growing demand that they organize their business rationally is by no means an effort to destroy either them or their professional function. The finer qualities that now characterize the physician would not, as many doctors seem to think, disappear if medical men replaced anarchy with scientific organization.

Why should we not have a complete, adequate, fully organized system of medical care for all our population when the expenditure of from $25 to $30 per person would finance it, a sum we already expend collectively for such services as some of us now procure? Such planning, instead of throwing physicians out of employment and on relief, would re-employ many of them.

Soon or late medical service must undergo drastic changes. If we wait too long we may be shoved into some half-baked system of state medicine that would be unsatisfactory for many years until we had worked it out scientifically. It is the democratic method to make as many experiments as we can and to have the successful ones emulated just as widely as possible. Such voluntary experimentation is the very core of democracy.

So-called "organized medicine" in the United States is by and large a conservative institution. Its medical politicians think far more of economic than of scientific objectives. A body of doctrine has been elaborated in which certain hypothetical principles are liturgically expressed. This forms part of the "folklore of capitalism." The body itself undertakes no functions that it fails to square with its symbols. Naturally it deprecates attempts to use new techniques, uncanonized by it, to perform the function of getting medical care to all who need it by using modern, scientific organization.

Medicine in a New Day

The institution has formulated its economic doctrines in terms of obsolete competitive individualism motivated by profit, and it assumes that it by right should own, control and dictate the use of medical knowledge. But today we live in a new world, based on research progress. In this world we are required, whether we wish it or not, to do collectively and cooperatively more and more things that we could formerly do individualistically. Hence new organizations have arisen to perform necessary functions neglected by the old ones. But these new techniques must evolve in an emotional turmoil aroused by the exponents of tradition.

In the future increasingly successful efforts will be made to provide complete and adequate medical care for all who need it. Only thus can our democratic ideals be rendered secure. The physician is worthy of his hire. Doctors as a whole are getting a very poor deal under the present system of medico-scientific anarchy. Many of them begin to understand this. Progress towards the ideal of proper medical care for all will be much accelerated in the near future. Sound national health demands that such progress be rapid and be not impeded by conservative doctors.

The Workman

AGES man carved and builded. Every stone
Spoke out the labor of his toiling hand.
He strove and sweated fierce till giant-like
His city's strength was strongest in the land.

Then roared the winds that blasted all the sky
With laughter when his granite walls crashed down.
Man stood unbent, astride the ravaged plain,
And from the ruins raised a greater town.

PHEBE ANN CLARKE.

BOOKS

Nineteenth Century Religion

THE GREAT CENTURY, 1800-1914, EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. VOLUME IV IN A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. *By Kenneth Scott Latourette. Harper & Brothers, $3.50.*

IN COMMENTING on the third volume of Professor Latourette's great work, the one covering the years from 1500 to 1800, the present reviewer may have remarked that the author, having begun his formidable undertaking well, got even better as he continued with it. The curve of excellence and interest continues to rise in this fourth volume dealing with so much of the history of expanding Christianity in the nineteenth century as primarily concerns Europe and America. For the purpose of this study, the nineteenth century is defined as extending from 1789 to 1914, from the French Revolution to the outbreak of the First World War.

In the matter of expansion, this was "the great century" of Christian history because of the "abounding vitality and unequaled daring" which the church brought to an enterprise now for the first time conceived as world-wide. In earlier centuries there had been heroic missionary endeavors and great achievements. But never before had the churches set themselves the definite task of going into *all* the world and preaching the gospel to *every* creature, and made their plans to that end. The Student Volunteer Movement's slogan, "the evangelization of the world in this generation," may now seem a little hasty and impractical, but it reflected the mind of a church which for the first time envisaged its mission in global terms.

It is not within the scope of this volume to tell how Christianity expanded in Asia and Africa or in Canada and South America. That story remains to be told in the two volumes that are to follow. In this one we have—besides many other things—an account of the home base of the missionary enterprise, of the movements, organizations, ideas and personalities by which it was carried out, and of its repercussions upon the sending churches.

But in explaining and justifying the title I have been led into an overemphasis upon one feature of the book which, while it is certainly prominent in the author's specialized professional interest, is by no means the most prominent in this volume. This is not a history of foreign missions, nor even of the home churches considered primarily as supporters of foreign missions.

The first hundred pages are devoted to an extraordinarily comprehensive survey (1) of the main characteristics of that nineteenth century culture which formed the social environment in which the church did its work, (2) of the movements of thought and life within Christianity itself as manifesting the resources by which its expansion was to be accomplished, and (3) of the particular processes, organizations and structures which were to be the instruments of its aggressive work during the century. The thoughtful analysis of the first of these topics (in Chapter II) will especially repay study. The second and third are rich in well documented detail, as is the whole book. The author then proceeds to the discussion of particular areas and topics: Europe, including the promotional efforts of Protestants, Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox; the movements of the churches with the advancing wave of the American frontier; immigrants; Indians; Negroes; the new frontiers of social change and shifting populations.

It will be seen that the "expansion" with which the author is concerned is by no means exclusively geographical, numerical or institutional, important as these features are. Expanding ideas and widening areas of Christian concern, as indicated by movements toward union and toward new recognitions of social responsibility, are taken into account. Even in so substantial a volume, of over 500 pages, there is not room to develop with equal fullness all phases of the history of American Christianity that are deemed sufficiently relevant to be included. But the balance and proportion are, on the whole, excellent. Some suggestion of the quantity of detail and of the author's concern for its accuracy will be conveyed by the fact that there are approximately 2,400 footnotes each of which contains a chapter-and-verse reference to one or more authorities. It stands to reason that there must be some mistakes in such a mass of minutiae, but the only error I have been able to spot is the dating of the founding of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in 1861, and that is doubtless only a typographical slip. An appended bibliography of nearly 500 items and 20 pages of index complete the apparatus.

For most American readers and students who think they can afford to buy only one of the six volumes which this series will contain when completed, this is the one to get.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books Received

Sociology. By Emory S. Bogardus. Revised edition. Macmillan, $3.00. This comprehensive textbook by one of the foremost authorities in the field has gone through at least six editions since its first publication in 1913. Another thorough revision brings it down to date, especially by taking into account recent social changes and by including important recent literature in the copious bibliographies.

They Came to a River. By Allis McKay. Macmillan, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Author of Liberty. By Robert W. Searle. Friendship Press, $1.00. The chapters are for the most part stories, some from real life, some fictional. The purpose of all is to illustrate the problems of democracy, the ways in which these affect the lives of individuals, and the place of religion in their solution. They are well adapted for their intended use by discussion groups. The book makes it very clear that democracy is not something that can be guaranteed by purely political action or defended by building a wall of steel around the country that professes to have it.

Modern Democracy. By Carl L. Becker. Yale University Press, $2.00. It should be announced as emphatically as is possible in type of this size that these three lectures by Cornell's eminent professor of history constitute very nearly as great a book as a book of 100 pages can be. Its theme is the paradox of democracy—the problem of preserving that degree of individual freedom which is essential to democracy while exercising that degree of social control over the economic process that is requisite to the maintenance of the economic liberty without which political and intellectual liberty is an empty form. Professor Becker sees democracy confronting a dilemma but not an impasse. He feels the force of the socialist principle, but he rejects the Marxist hypothesis that the possessors of privilege will never surrender their advantage without violent revolution, and argues that non-violent pressures can limit or remove the privileges of a class in the future as they have in the past—for example, those of the Roman patricians and of the English House of Lords. It should be added that the verbal felicity of these lectures is such that the reader

will rob himself of a pleasure if he does not read them aloud—to himself or to others.

Remember April: Assurances of Life Eternal. Compiled by Margaret E. Burton. Woman's Press, 75 cents. A well edited anthology of selections, poetry and prose, affirming the fact of immortality and presenting in non-argumentative mood the grounds for belief in it.

World Chaos and the Only Way Out. By G. Norman Robbins. Cornish Brothers, Birmingham, England, 6 pence. This pamphlet is a digest of a larger work not yet published. It argues that the function of the church is the *complete* salvation of the world; that this involves meeting all human needs, material as well as spiritual; that the church must no longer leave its duties in other hands but must go into politics, place a Christian program before the public, and work for the election of Christian representatives pledged to the support of the program and responsible to the church. The author holds that nothing can be hoped for by gradual change, and that "the establishment of a rightful social system will center round the question of revolution"—which apparently means that it must come by a revolution which ought to be supported, even directed, by the church. Only a church with an inferiority complex would make any such gesture of world domination at this time.

The Jew Faces a New World. By Robert Gordis. Behrman's Jewish Book House, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Books on Religion, A Layman's List. Junior League, 221 E. 71st St., New York, 5 cents. An annotated list of 37 varied titles, new and old.

The Terrible Crystal, Studies in Kierkegaard and Modern Christianity. By M. Chaning-Pearce. Oxford University Press, $2.50. Nine essays which the author describes as "studies in a certain type of modern Christian thought and feeling deriving from and attuned to conditions of terror and catastrophe." Only the first is on Kierkegaard, based on Lowrie's biography and Dru's edition of the journals. The second is on the theory of crisis. Kindred themes are discussed in the subsequent chapters. The author modestly describes himself as an "amateur layman" in theology, but his scholarship no less than his gift for expression is evident on every page.

Punahou, 1841—1941. By Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge. University of California Press, $3.50. The history of Punahou school, founded by early missionaries in Hawaii and now a flourishing institution with about 1,400 students and 8,000 alumni, covers a considerable part of the intellectual and religious history of Hawaii. One author is a granddaughter of one of the founders; the other has been connected with the school for more than forty years.

We Have a Future. By Norman Thomas. Princeton University Press, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Honest Religion. By John Oman. Macmillan, $2.25. (To be reviewed.)

The New Haggadah for the Pesah Seder. Edited by Mordecai M. Kaplan, Eugene Kohn and Ira Eisenstein. Behrman's Jewish Book House, 65 cents. A new version of the passover service in very attractive form with Hebrew and English text, explanations, music and decorative illustrations.

Saints on the Earth, Stories of Great Jewish Men and Women from the Time of the Discovery of America to the Present. By Deborah Pessin. Behrman, $1.50. A skillful presentation of episodes from the lives of great modern Jews, some of whom are less known than they deserve.

Christian Roots of Democracy in America. By Arthur E. Holt. Friendship Press, $1.00. (To be reviewed.)

Insects and Their Stories. By Harry Hoogstraal. Crowell, $2.00. In crisp, clear text and large-scale pictures (photographs by Melvin Martinson) some unfamiliar views are given of common insects.

Everyone's Children, Nobody's Child, A Judge Looks at Underprivileged Children in the United States. By Justine Wise Polier. Scribners, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

CORRESPONDENCE

Miss Royden's Position

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Certainly among the most impressive articles published since the war began was that of Maude Royden asking "What Should a Briton Do?" With genuine appreciation for the writer's tragic position I wonder if she has not lost sight of one of the most important facts of human experience, which is that nations and large groups of people are never quite ready for the ideal, but must always be led gently, and perhaps stumblingly, by a few ironhearted individuals who are ready to pay the price which is demanded. ". . . my country cannot and will not love its enemies in this sense, or receive a nazi army and nazi police with open arms." And I agree that my own will no more do it, but I am not so sure that either I or Maude Royden is thereby excused from that which we know to be right. Were either the Romans or the Jews ready for the teachings of Jesus? Suppose he had argued that their unpreparedness justified his own acceptance of the imperfect human relations which they accepted? And suppose the early Christians, the apostles, had waited till Rome was ready ere they embarked on the Christian way of life, would not the shadow of the cross have remained on the Galilean hill?

First Presbyterian Church, FRED I. CAIRNS.
Conway, Ark.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Surely R. Edis Fairbairn never read Maude Royden's poignant, brave statement, "What Should a Briton Do?" before it appeared in the same issue of The Christian Century as his own attack on Christians who take her position. Had he done so I feel reasonably sure he would never have permitted the publication of his own article, at least in the same number as hers. How stridently dogmatic, how pitifully detached his attitude appears beside that of one whose vantage point is a contemporary Calvary!

It is doubtless heroic for Mr. Fairbairn to proclaim that if a more decent world emerges after the nazi-fascist menace is removed, he will repudiate Jesus Christ. Some of us are more concerned lest the Man who condemned the priest and the Levite for passing by on the other side lest they soil their souls by being involved in a situation mixed up with evil, repudiate *us* for refusing to do our part to heal the sores of a world at the mercy of ruthless brigands.

I ask him, who among the Christian participants in the present struggle claims that war is "the right way of dealing with the situation"? We may assert that in a world like this it is the only way left to us, which is a far different claim. To use Maude Royden's pungent words: the sense of judgment and the discernment of the evil of war "is a poor excuse for inaction against a tyranny more terrible than the world has ever seen. If the cause of freedom is to go undefended except by those who are sinless it will never be defended at all."

Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, DAVID A. MCLENNAN.
Toronto, Ont.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As a Canadian, I hasten to express my appreciation to The Christian Century for publishing the article, "What Should a Briton Do?" by Maude Royden. The attitude of your paper has caused many of us concern and regret. This article is, therefore, all the more appreciated. I could not help but compare the concern and plea of Dr. Royden with the attitude of Sister Muriel (as we all called Muriel Lester at the Saugatuck ashram). While her sisters, in England, were being bombed, she was in America using her influence to keep America from going to the aid of the

victims of Hitler's rage. It just doesn't seem like playing the game.

First United Church, Hamilton, Ont. E. CROSSLEY HUNTER.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Miss Royden says that since the majority of her people will not or cannot at present follow Jesus' way she must follow their way, which is that of playing the healer with the knife. She fails to realize that the knife which they are using is badly infected with hatred, greed, lies, selfishness, and the germs of many other social and moral diseases. The use of such a knife will but spread the infection and lead to more horrible wars in the future. I have no faith at all that either her nation or mine has any real desire to build a decent world. The real goal of the war is "self-defense," not self-sacrifice for the sake of a better and happier world. And "self-defense" means the defense of all of our trade routes and the sources of raw materials over which we now have control. The ethic of Jesus is still an impossible ethic, it seems, for nations. But nations will adopt it when enough individuals insist that they will not support their nation in any other course than that which Jesus would take.

Ann Arbor, Mich. W. WINSTON THOMAS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: With the possible exception of Mrs. Sidney Webb, Maude Royden is England's greatest woman. She, like Peter Witt of Cleveland, is "a pacifist turned warrior," indicating the complete mental upset this good woman is suffering from. Take this sentence from her article: "It happens that we [England] are the only nation that is able to stand up to Hitler." England has never been able to stand up to Germany—now, or in the last war. England, with Russia, Italy, Japan, France, Belgium, etc., was unable to defeat Germany in the last war, and now, when English troops meet the German soldiers, we see merely a repetition of the last war. Without her former allies, England is now on the verge of defeat. Every Englishman is praying that the United States will again come to her rescue, but even if America does this it cannot alter the final result of this war, except that our entry will end in disaster and humiliation for us as well as for England.

New York, N. Y. JOHN MCF. HOWIE.

'Judgment Day for Christ'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Oh no! It is not judgment day for Christ; it is a judgment day for the church that is called after his name, and for the long record of apostasy during the last 1,600 years by a spurious Christian church and clergy that have repudiated Christ all along, with a few noble exceptions.

Escanaba, Mich. OTTO A. NELSON.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In my opinion R. Edis Fairbairn puts the emphasis in the wrong place. I was shocked when I first read his title, but I agree in part with his argument and in part with his conclusion. It is not Christ who approaches a judgment day, but it is his professed followers, particularly the leaders in each congregation who stand with a sword at the doorway to keep any question, no matter how vital, from entering that may be classed as controversial. Is this not the place for emphasis, rather than where Mr. Fairbairn places it?

Tinley Park, Ill. E. J. DAVIS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Fairbairn's discussion thrusts the whole matter of sustaining a future relationship with Jesus Christ as actual Son of God and Savior of the world into a decision, utterly final, to be made in the present world crisis; ignoring the very "reality" about life that he claims is the nature of things. This reality persuades us to believe in an evolutionary process of slow and halting spiritual progress—a process in which the so-called "righteous use of force" has played an unmistakable part in bringing mankind up toward the higher levels of civilization, built on living faith. I wish I could escape the tortures of a divided mind and spirit about the present status of Christian culture in the light of the appeal of the ultimate idealism of Christ, but I cannot thus escape by throwing the whole matter into the balances of the present world crisis and disregarding what the centuries have to say, and the future may yet say.

I will not renounce Jesus Christ, and the power of his lordship in our world, though many of the spiritual hopes of men are dashed in this generation, because there will be another day.

First Baptist Church, Tampa, Fla. ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: What obsessed you to give space to that impudent article by R. Edis Fairbairn entitled, "Judgment Day for Jesus Christ"? Christian men and women will blush with shame as they read that offensive harangue.

It is my guess that the Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn will have the opportunity of renouncing his allegiance to Christ and that Christ will survive.

Presbyterian Church, Oyster Bay, N. Y. ALFRED J. PENNEY.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In my opinion, "Judgment Day for Jesus Christ" by Mr. Fairbairn is a classic in its field. Coming from a man living in a country now at war, the article testifies to a living courageous faith that many of the rest of us might well emulate.

Methodist Church, Empire, Ohio. PAUL O. REESE.

Would Ban Christian Century from Canada

[We have been asked to publish the following communication which appeared in the Winnipeg (Canada) *Free Press* of March 22. The writer is a clergyman of the United Church of Canada. —THE EDITORS.]

"To the Editor: May I commend your editorial page article on 'A Conflict of Opinion' in the United States with regard to the war issue. I am particularly concerned with your references to Rev. Dr. Clayton Morrison and The Christian Century.

"It is to me an amazing thing that this journal, which as you clearly and rightly point out, is subversive of everything for which Canada stands at the present moment in world affairs, should be allowed to circulate in the dominion. *Scribner's* has been recently banned, rightly, as I think. But *Scribner's* has had no articles more bitterly antagonistic to Britain than some of the editorials written by Dr. Morrison and articles contributed by American writers with his viewpoint. Why should Canada allow such a journal to circulate freely? If the United States were at war and we were not, can one imagine a religious journal from Canada being allowed to circulate across the line if it were continually attacking that which meant national life to the U.S.A.? Your readers can answer the question. So can I.

"Failing such action of our censorship, I appeal to Canadian clergymen to institute an unofficial one. For years I subscribed to The Christian Century and in many ways admired its editor. It was a great grief as international matters grew more grave to observe his growing bitterness against everything British—and, I think I am right, particularly anything English. So, after the war broke out and Dr. Morrison's attitude was clear, I refused to subscribe again. Why should we feed the hand which strikes us? That is not required from either our democratic or Christian principles. I know that many ministers of the church to which I belong have taken the same attitude, but even yet I see the paper in places where I would rather not—in public libraries, for instance. Exposed to uncritical reading, it may quite well do harm to our cause.

"Swift Current, Sask. H. D. RANNS."

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

U.S.O. Holds Big Capital Meeting

Plans to Man Federal Buildings in 353 Camp Centers—Six Groups Participate—June Campaign Planned

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 17.—Another alphabetical designation bids fair to become as familiar as those already in use. When on June 3 solicitation begins for $10,765,000 for the U.S.O. the public will assuredly know that another organization is in the field. The letters stand for "United Service Organization." Under this head six well known welfare organizations are to work in cooperation in the areas contiguous to training camps, naval stations and large defense production centers.

More than 800 representatives of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Jewish Welfare Board, National Catholic Community Service, Salvation Army and Travelers' Aid Association met in the huge ballroom of the Willard hotel in Washington on April 17 to hear Federal Security Administrator McNutt and others explain the plan. Determined not to permit a repetition of the unpleasant features incident to welfare work during the First World War, the government wisely called upon these six agencies to work out a plan whereby overlapping could be minimized, expense diminished and criticisms avoided. The U.S.O. is the outgrowth of these efforts.

On the Outskirts of the Camps

Present plans call for the establishment of 399 service centers throughout the country. The federal government will erect suitable buildings and these will be leased for a nominal sum to the U.S.O. In these centers attention will be given to the religious, social, educational and recreational needs of trainees and defense employees during their off-duty hours. The organization will in no case operate within the camps but only on the outskirts, supplementing and extending the work of local communities which for the most part will be utterly unable to do the task as it ought to be done. In a word, it will endeavor to meet the leisure-time need of the boys in service and hence maintain their morale as well as preserve their morals.

Secretary Stimson, addressing the huge delegated body, stressed the danger involved if the nation relies too much on "guns, ships and airplanes." "No armaments," said he, "will be sufficient unless backed by the invincible spirit of the human soul."

Interfaith Aspect Prominent

The interfaith character of the U.S.O. is especially in evidence. Only toward the end of the First World War was anything like cooperation secured among the welfare organizations. After the unhappy experiences of that period, Catholic, Protestant and Jew are apparently willing to sink their individuality in a corporate body for the good of the nation's trainees. Thus we begin today at a point far in advance of where we left off 23 years ago.

It was stated at this meeting that each one of these welfare buildings would be designated by the letters U.S.O. on the outside. On the inside however would appear the name of the particular organization in charge of that building. This would appear to be a serious mistake. If it is to be a cooperative undertaking it would seem the part of wisdom to make it so on the inside as well as the outside of each building. Otherwise comparative estimates will most certainly be made, and one or the other of the six organizations is bound to suffer.

Large Campaign in June

Mr. Walter Hoving of New York is U.S.O.'s president, and assisting him on the board of directors appear the names of many of the nation's distinguished men and women. Not wishing to be responsible for any suggestion that church and state are being linked together, the government is undoubtedly wise in asking the public to finance this important undertaking instead of tapping the federal treasury. A nationwide campaign to raise $10,765,000 for the first year's work will be a major item on the program for June. Delegates to the Washington meeting appeared to be enthusiastic and extremely optimistic over the reception which they are sure the public will accord the new alphabetical baby.

W. S. ABERNETHY.

Deferment Asked for College Youth

A statement advocating the extension of military training deferment privileges for college and university students beyond July 1, 1941, was adopted by the National Commission of the National Conference of Church-Related Colleges, representing 375 institutions. The Selective Service Act as now constituted does not permit deferment beyond July 1.

Methodists Vote Down Peace Resolution

The New Hampshire conference of the Methodist Church at its 112th annual session held recently voted down a resolution which would have put the state gathering on record opposing "active participation of the United States as a belligerent in any of the wars now in operation." The conference, however, went on record as believing "that war is anti-Christian and we are resolved to do all in our power to uproot it."

Williamstown to Discuss New World Order

"The World We Want to Live In" will be the theme of this year's Williamstown Institute of Human Relations, held biennially under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, it is announced by Everett R. Clinchy, president. The institute will be held at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., Aug. 24-29.

Cleveland Hails Anti-War Senator

10,000 Hear Wheeler Urge President to Keep Peace Pledge—Emerson Heads Council—Catholics Drop Bingo

(Correspondence from Northern Ohio)

CLEVELAND, April 16.—Before a Palm Sunday audience of more than 10,000 people of Cleveland, Senator Burton K. Wheeler called upon President Roosevelt to keep his pre-election promises to avert war. The assembly, which was arranged by the America First Committee, was presided over by W. W. T. Duncan, pastor of the Lakewood Methodist Church. At the close of the senator's address, a communication was sent to the President calling upon him to stop the trend toward our participation in war. Cleveland's three papers, which had been roundly criticized for their failure to give adequate advance publicity to the meeting, gave full reports the following day.

* * *

Dean Emerson Heads Church Council

Chester Birge Emerson, dean of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, has been elected president of the Cleveland church federation for the year beginning May 1. He will succeed H. K. Carpenter, a Methodist layman who has given Cleveland Protestantism two years of excellent leadership. Dean Emerson came to Cleveland in 1932 after 19 years as pastor of North Woodward Congregational Church, Detroit. He is a past president of the Detroit council of churches. His transfer to the Episcopal Church caused much surprise at the time. He is one of Cleveland's ablest ministers, known throughout the country for his Lenten preaching. The new officers will be installed at the federation's 30th anniversary luncheon on April 28.

* * *

Easter Services Attract Largest Crowds

Easter services are reported to have attracted the largest congregations in local church history. The number of duplicate services on Sunday morning was greater than in any preceding year. The seventh annual sunrise service, sponsored by the Knights Templar in Public Hall, was attended by 11,000. Dean Emerson was the preacher. A youth sunrise service in Old Stone Church, under the auspices of the Christian Endeavor and the county Christian youth council, heard L. W. Norris, vice-president of Baldwin-Wallace College. Nearly 75 parishes are estimated to have conducted sunrise services of their own. More than 100 parishes engaged in systematic visitation evangelism in a follow-up of the National Christian Mission. All these churches received large numbers of new members. Record congregations were present in 15 district churches where the "Service of the Three Hours" was con-

ducted on Good Friday. The Akron ministerial association, attempting its first out-of-doors sunrise service, assembled 13,000 worshipers in the colorful setting of the "Rubber Bowl" to hear E. R. Brown, superintendent of the Cleveland Methodist district, denounce warmakers as desecrators of the Easter spirit.

* * *

Call New Head for Women's College

Raymond G. Clapp, president of Schauffler College of Religious and Social Work for the past 17 years, has resigned and will relinquish his duties on Sept. 1 to Earl Vinie, pastor of East Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass. Under Dr. Clapp the school has developed from a missionary training school into an accredited professional college for women. It has approximately 100 students from many states and several foreign nations. Dr. Vinie is a graduate of Colgate University and Yale Divinity School. He was formerly on the faculty of Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.

* * *

'Family Portrait' Has Record Run

During the Lenten season the Drury Theater of Cleveland's famed Playhouse gave a splendid portrayal of "Family Portrait," the story of Jesus' family's reactions to his ministry. The Playhouse management and the Cuyahoga county Christian youth council cooperated so effectively in enlisting interest in Protestant churches that the play was twice extended beyond its announced run. There is a probability that it will be repeated as a Lenten feature next year.

* * *

Parish Changes Reflect Population Shifts

Two church mergers, announced this week, reflect changes in downtown and uptown districts. East 75th Street, East Boulevard and Cleveland Heights Evangelical churches will join hands formally next Sunday in anticipation of a building program in the vicinity of the last named, which is a mission parish. The ministers are LeRoy Deininger, David Loegler and G. S. Gratz. Grace Episcopal Church, downtown parish at 1248 Bolivar road, will unite with Trinity Cathedral on Dec. 31. The withdrawal of this 97-year-old congregation will leave Old Stone Church the sole Protestant house of worship below east 18th street. Franklyn Cole Sherman has been rector for ten years. Fairmount Presbyterian Church, Cleveland Heights, has begun erection of a $250,000 sanctuary after having used its educational unit for worship for 15 years. F. H. Ferris is the minister. St. James A. M. E. Church used its remodeled sanctuary for Easter services for the first time. It was badly damaged by fire on New Year's Day, 1938. Joseph Gomez is pastor of this large Negro church.

* * *

And So Forth

Under pressure of public sentiment and city administration policy, it has been announced that bingo will not be resumed in Catholic churches following Lent.

W. S. Lake, pastor of Euclid-Immanuel Baptist Church, died suddenly of a heart attack three weeks ago. He had served Cleveland Baptist churches since 1918.

O. M. Walton.

Churches Flourish In Prison Camps

Religion Gains in Europe's Refuge Centers—French Protestants Render Great Service—Conditions Improve

(Special Correspondence)

Geneva, Switzerland, April 1.—During the months which now lie behind us we heard a great deal about the bitter distress of many thousands of homeless refugees who had to leave their homes on an hour or two's notice with light luggage and often without any money, and are now interned in great refugee camps on the slopes of the Pyrenees. We received countless reports of torturing hunger, freezing cold and other unspeakable distresses.

We may thank God that the cry of the homeless was not unheard, but moved many hearts. Gifts were offered and real sacrifices made by Swiss and Swedish friends, and so the Swiss and French relief organizations were able to relieve much distress. But here we wish to tell not of this material help but of the greater, more wonderful help which the Lord is granting to these "the least of his brethren" through the building and growth of the congregations of Protestant refugees.

Christmas Festival Starts It

In the Gurs camp weekly services had been carried on for a long time by the indefatigable minister of a neighboring parish, and many services of Christian love had been performed; but the impulse which led to the formation of a living camp congregation came through the miracle of Christmas. The Christmas festival of the Protestants of Gurs was the greatest event in the life of the camp. In the midst of intense cold 100 people came to the table of the Lord. Christmas was celebrated in the spirit of the good news from God.

Today there is in Gurs a firmly organized Protestant camp congregation of from 500 to 1,000 members. The number varies greatly because of the frequent transfers of internees from one camp to another. In each section of the camp, elders are at work who have been dedicated by the congregation. Every Tuesday there is a well attended service under the leadership of the responsible camp chaplain, a Reformed Church minister from the neighborhood. Furthermore, interned lay people often give short addresses, which French friends told us often surprise them by their penetrating understanding of biblical texts. One of the three French welfare workers sent to the camp by the French Christian youth organizations reports that very seldom in France are services so dignified and reverent, with such liturgical richness as these in Gurs. After the service the minister, welfare workers and elders discuss congregational affairs and the assistance that should be given to needy members of the congregation. At Christmas many internees who had been in camps since the beginning of the war had no shoes left. Owing to the zeal of the French helpers and the gifts of Swiss friends sent through the Ecumenical Committee for Refugees in Geneva, no member of the camp congregation now lacks footgear.

Christian Centers Organized

The center of the life of the congregation is the "Baraque Protestante." This building has been properly equipped for religious services by the cooperation of the groups named above. It is so arranged that the "cavedwellers" of the dark, unwholesome sleeping barracks find light, benches, tables, cleanliness and refreshment there. On Sunday afternoons there are often 200 internees busy with catechetical and biblical study work.

The Ecumenical Committee was able to answer the request for commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans. Now Greek New Testaments are wanted, for there are not a few thoroughly trained classical scholars in the congregation, which includes members of all classes and many nations. The congregation has a little library which needs to be extended. Clearly written books which give an introduction to the biblical message and other books are wanted, but not dusty remnants from days gone by. The congregation wants to be taken seriously. It is alive and therefore critical.

Some Refuse to Leave

This congregation, like others, has not been altogether free from squabbles for power and food. These are understandable when one considers the oppressive conditions in which the camp has to carry on. However one of the elders recently reported: "To my great joy I can assure you that our congregation is developing very well. The visit of friend T—, the minister entrusted by the French Protestant Federation with the supervision of the spiritual welfare of the foreign refugees, did a great deal to help us. We had inspiring meetings. We have every reason to be proud of the results of the work of our ministers and French helpers, who work with complete devotion." We know of internees who have money and could leave the camp if they desired, but who have remained for the sake of the service they can do and because of the joy they have in the life of the congregation.

The worst enemy of these internees, weakened as they are by deprivations and undernourishment, is the apathetic acceptance of a fate which seems inexorable. They have no energy to do anything, but lie on their straw beds and let themselves drift along, without any effort of their will, to the death they long for. This was the state in which the welfare workers found many people. Then these people were spoken to and received some practical help; they experienced the inspiring power of Christmas joy and the tonic effect of belonging to a community which is guided by the Word of God. So a new will to live took hold of many of them. They had a new sense of the meaning, task and goal of life. They pulled themselves together, and have been saved by the strength which has come to them directly from on high.

Camp Conditions Improving

In recent weeks many of the inhabitants of the Gurs camp have been transferred by the French authorities to better camps or even out to do agricultural work. Now

other camps are sending out more and more urgent calls for services, Christian fellowship and Bibles. Our French Reformed friends are actively dealing with this need so far as they can. Wherever possible, provision is made for regular spiritual service. Congregations of refugee groups under the leadership of French ministers have been organized in 18 places; there are two small camps with British civilian internees among them.

The French Reformed Church has found this ecumenical service for foreign refugees to be an important source of spiritual blessing. Again and again the letters of the refugee chaplains speak of the "immense pastoral joy" that this service gives them and the way in which it enriches their work among their own congregations. The president of the French Protestant Federation, Pasteur Marc Boegner, who has been actively supporting this work for a long time, visited the camp congregation at Gurs at the beginning of April. His visit was a joyous festival for the refugees, and emphasized the ecumenical significance of this congregation and the service that can be given it. These congregations, which are composed of Lutherans and Presbyterians, people who used to be indifferent or atheist, British, Czechs, Germans, Poles, Spaniards, and others also, represent the ecumenical church in a way that we have not known hitherto. They are not embedded in the old, often external tradition of a national church, home congregation and family. Their one creator is the Holy Spirit who is not bound by the frontiers of national church or political groups. These homeless people, who have no continuing city here, have been granted a home in the church of Christ.

Immediate Help Needed

The refugee congregations are organizationally connected with the French Reformed Church, but their members are only foreign, temporary guests on French soil, and the French church is itself struggling with great needs and almost insoluble tasks. As congregations of the one ecumenical Christian church, they are *our* congregations. They, the suffering members in the one Body, depend on us, who have been, by the grace of God, hitherto spared such disasters. "Our only comfort is to know that we are not forgotten, but members of the one church," is a phrase which runs like a refrain through many letters from refugees. Those who desire to help to build up and maintain these refugee congregations may send gifts to the Ecumenical Committee for Refugees, 41 Avenue de Champel, Geneva, Switzerland.

DENZIL G. M. PATRICK.

Democracy's Salvation not In Europe, Says Rabbi

A warning that "we must save democracy in our own country," and that "we cannot save it on the battlefields of Europe," was sounded in New York by Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, associate rabbi of the Free Synagogue. Speaking at a meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress, Rabbi Goldstein stated that 24 years ago the United States entered the World War in order to "end all war," only to discover that "war cannot end war any more than hate can end hate or destruction end destruction."

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD • This Is the Victory

An Unshakable Faith for a Time of Crisis

Here is the spiritual challenge to which mankind must hearken if a better world is to be built after this day of destruction has ended. Out of battered and embattled London comes this stirring message of hope, of courage, and of faith. Dr. Weatherhead not only faces the hard facts of the present crisis; he also envisions the tender concern of a purposive God, in whose divine wisdom and will are man's only victory and only peace. The three parts of the book concern *Our Faith, Some of Faith's Allies,* and *Faith's Forward Look.*

"Correctly and conservatively described as 'a burning, enheartening, challenging affirmation of the faith that overcometh the world.' "—*Christian Century.*

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CHARLES A. ELLWOOD • The World's Need of Christ

"When one of America's outstanding sociologists insists, as does Dr. Ellwood, 'that an increasing number of social scientists will come to say, even in the name of intellectual honesty, that to ignore Christ's teaching regarding human relations, if we wish a society permeated by good will, is like astronomy ignoring Copernicus' doctrine of the stellar universe,' that testimony commands the attention of laymen and clergy . . . Dr. Ellwood demonstrates that our culture is primarily 'thing-minded,' and that the need of the world is a spiritual basis for life . . . to 'imitate Christ.' "—*Social Progress.*

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E. STANLEY JONES • Is the Kingdom of God Realism?

"The answer which Dr. Jones gives to the question in the title is an emphatic and triumphant *'Yes.'* . . . The book is written with prophetic fervor and fire, and the author himself is a prophet with a message of judgment and grace. . . . Yes, answers Dr. Jones, the Kingdom is reality and truth, the foundation upon which all life and existence rest. It is not an idealistic conception; it is a present and inescapable fact. . . . This book challenges the world to realize that its present misery is caused by its rejection of the Kingdom of God. . . . The choice before the world today as ever is between following its own way unto death, or the Kingdom of God's way unto life." —*Christendom.*

$2

ELMER GEORGE HOMRIGHAUSEN • Let the Church Be the Church

"The book is a searching message sanely but forcefully presented, having the weight of scholarship but the drive of deep personal concern and conviction. The 'sermon-essays' retain the urgency of impassioned address. . . . Four of the addresses seem to contain the message which the author burns to declare: *Let the Church Be the Church, The Eternal Cross, My Church,* and *Jesus Christ Is Our Religion.* . . . The book is not so much an argument as an appeal; not so much a persuasion as a challenge . . . a call, a summons, by one who feels and believes what he has to say. . . . Crisp, vigorous, incisive."—*Religion in Life.*

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ABINGDON-COKESBURY

Educator Heads Mediation Board

University President's Methods of Work Unique—Peace Groups Fail to Agree —Compulsory Drill Discussed

(Correspondence from Wisconsin)

MADISON, April 15.—President Clarence Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, former draft administrator, is now chairman of the President's Mediation Board. He is a man of proved ability tackling a formidable task. His own state of Wisconsin presented one of the knottiest problems in the Allis-Chalmers plant at West Allis, which was tied up for 10 weeks. It has now resumed operations. Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the law school of the university and a former member of the National Labor Relations Board, has accepted the position of referee. The Allis-Chalmers management and the C.I.O. union have agreed to submit all disputes to his arbitration. George Nordstrom, regional C.I.O. director, is reported to have said, "Everybody will get a square deal from Garrison." Max Babb, president of Allis-Chalmers, is said to have observed that Garrison's appointment was "good news for all of us."

* * *

Traits of a Proved Administrator

Two features characterize Dykstra's administrative methods: he doesn't get people's backs up, and he works without publicity. Shortly you hear that something has been done. Whether he acquired his administrative techniques from his Dutch Reformed ministerial father, from his study and teaching of political science, from municipal administration in Cleveland, where he was born, or from the battle with Old Man River in Cincinnati is an unanswered question. He is neither theological in vocabulary nor ecclesiastical in activity, but he is warmly sympathetic to religion.

* * *

Three Peace Meetings On Campus

The drift toward war is reflected in the difficulties encountered by campus peace leaders at the University of Wisconsin. The Student Peace Federation, in cooperation with the National Youth Committee Against War, planned a peace demonstration for April 16. The University League for Liberal Action, allegedly penetrated by left-wingers, and the Young Communist League, among several constituent members of the Student Peace Federation, apparently pulled a fast one by inviting John Knox of Detroit, Methodist clergyman affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization program, to speak. They did not have the approval of the federation. Meanwhile the university administration arranged an official observance of April 16 by scheduling a debate between Curtis Nettels, professor of American history, and Oswald Garrison Villard. They omitted the Student Peace Federation from the list of sponsors. Those members of the federation representing numerous religious and other liberal campus groups, caught between the right and the left, invited Kirby Page to address a public meeting on April 15.

* * *

University to Have Compulsory Drill?

Similar war-mindedness emerges in the state legislature, before which is a bill proposing a return, after 20 years of optional training, to a compulsory R.O.T.C. in the university. Though opposed by the Progressive party and by many liberal organizations in the state, the bill passed the Republican dominated senate, and by a vote of 55 to 42 has been moved to its third reading in the lower house. If it is passed, it will be over the adverse recommendation of the R.O.T.C. commandant himself. It is said that neither the university nor the federal government has funds to provide for necessary extension of training facilities. Gov. Julius Heil is strongly for the bill.

* * *

Newspaper Commends Church Conscience

The *Wisconsin Daily Cardinal* recently expressed editorial praise for the churches' interest in social issues. Commending the Malvern Conference, it looked with cordial expectation toward the North American continuation of Oxford, Edinburgh and Malvern at Toronto in June. The same editorial column suggested that without being sectarian the university might well adjourn classes on Good Friday afternoon, or in some manner appropriately observe the great historic event commemorated on that day. It remarked that public schools were closing and that even taverns close for the three hours when city-wide services are being held. The university observes no religious holidays.

* * *

And So Forth

Social agencies and religious organizations of the state regard with appreciation the retention by Illinois of its three-day marriage license law under recent attack, and applaud Iowa's recent enactment of a pre-marital physical examination requirement. The clergy are little concerned about marriage fees lost across the border to adjacent Gretna Greens, but are deeply concerned for the enduring quality of marriages.

Student Y.M. and Y.W. conferences will be conducted jointly and coeducationally for the first time this year at College Camp, Lake Geneva, June 13-21.

The office of the Wisconsin council of churches removed on March 1 from Milwaukee to 511 Insurance Building, Madison. A. G. Adams is executive secretary.

ALFRED W. SWAN.

Episcopal Fund Oversubscribed

The Protestant Episcopal Church's campaign to raise $300,000 for the support of Church of England missionary work has been oversubscribed and most of the funds transmitted to England, it was announced by Presiding Bishop Henry St. George Tucker. There is a possibility that the Protestant Episcopal Church will take over some of the English church's mission fields.

Pacifist Teacher Ousted in Kansas

Science Instructor Is Fired as C.O.— Professors Come to His Defense— Church Position Anomalous

(Special Correspondence)

LAWRENCE, KAN., April 17.—Kenneth Weaver, social science teacher in the Lawrence, Kan., high school, became on April 8 the first conscientious objector to lose his job in the state of Kansas.

Weaver registered as a c.o. in the fall and indicated his unwillingness to do either combatant or non-combatant service under military authority. Shortly before Christmas the school board and the daily newspaper became aware of his position, through what channels it is not known. The newspaper printed no news item on the matter, but it became community information in a few days. When the school board met in January, a motion was made that Weaver, with another teacher who had registered as a c.o., be dismissed at the end of the semester. It was evident in the discussion of the board that some of the members were concerned about Weaver's liberal teachings. The board called Weaver into the meeting and after an hour declared themselves satisfied on the matter of his liberal teaching. The charges of liberalism had been made before the start of the present school year and Weaver had been re-employed at an increase in salary. At least officially, conscientious objection was the issue.

Re-Employed in January

The outcome of the January meeting of the school board was the decision to retain Weaver to the end of the school year. This was a unanimous action. Although an attempt to keep the matter quiet was made it was not successful. Even though the daily and the weekly newspapers published nothing, the facts or distortions thereof spread quickly.

After the January meeting the other c.o. dropped out of the picture. He decided he was willing to do non-combatant military service. But Weaver could not accept such military service. He is the son and grandson of Brethren ministers and a graduate of a Brethren college. Opposition to war is deeply ingrained in him by inheritance as well as by personal conviction. A person of exemplary character and personal dignity, Weaver is moreover an exceptional teacher. He is frequently said to be the best or one of the three or four best teachers in the whole school system. As soon as his position was endangered, therefore, people individually and by couples began to interview members of the school board and school administrators. Some were motivated by their sympathy for the conscientious objector position. More were concerned for the principle of academic freedom. Most were motivated by fear that so superior a teacher might be lost to the community.

Professors Censure School Board

There was no organized campaign to support Weaver. Shortly before the school

board met to consider finally the teaching staff for next year, the A.A.U.W. considered the matter, but took no action. The executive board of the League of Women Voters wrote to the school board asking for a statement of policy. Parents prepared petitions, as did a very high proportion of Weaver's former and present students. The local chapter of the American Association of University Professors passed a censure of the school board by a vote of 17 to 8.

However, as the day of the crucial spring school board meeting drew near, the feeling among the supporters of Weaver was that nothing could be done. When the school board met on April 3 as the education committee, one of the members read a resolution which he proposed to present officially at the regular meeting on April 17 favoring retaining Weaver. The unofficial vote was 1 for, 5 against. On this, Weaver decided he would not be re-employed, and presented shortly before the meeting on April 7 a letter stating he was not a candidate for re-election.

The Attitude of the Churches

What attitude did the ministers and the churches take? In January, early on the day the board was to meet to consider dismissing both c.o.'s at the end of the first semester, the Methodist minister, who is the pastor of the other c.o., with the writer called on the school superintendent and three board members. The Methodist minister spoke strongly and effectively for the retention of the two men. Generally, however, the ministers found this a "touchy" issue. Last fall, when a motion was made that the alliance set up a committee on conscientious objectors, one minister threatened to resign from the alliance if the motion passed. It was overwhelmingly defeated.

Of the six school board members, one who favored dismissal is the minister of one of the largest and most prominent churches in the community. Several people who talked with him characterized him as "afraid," but the writer regards him as conservative, cautious and prudent, but not lacking in courage. A second member who favored dismissal is dean of the college of liberal arts in the state university and the regular though unordained minister of a smaller church of the same denomination as the other ministerial member of the board. The banker member of the board and another member who is treasurer of the electric utility are members of the church of the ordained minister. Both were in favor of dismissing Weaver. The newspaper editor, the head of the local draft board and another member of the draft board who is also head of the American Legion are members of the same church. The only school board member favoring the retention of Weaver on the high school faculty was a man not affiliated with any church.

Who's a Liberal Now?

In this incident, the apparent blindness and indifference of the Christian leaders of the community seems to go along with a general hysterical and distorted concern with the emergency. The effectiveness of Weaver as a teacher, the longtime welfare of the students and school counted for nothing beside the fact that here was one person who was out of step with the majority. There was a complete failure to grasp the real nature and implications for democracy of this question. That the right of conscientious objection is recognized by the federal draft law, that the right of liberty of conscience lies close to the heart of the American conception of freedom, few seemed to realize or care. How ephemeral are "tolerance" and "liberalism"! The indifference, the refusal to jeopardize one's popularity, the fear of the newspaper, the ambivalence, the indirectness, the "yes—but"-ing, the "on the other hand"-ing which the Lynds found so prevalent in "Middletown" happened here and it is a pathetic thing to see. If independence of mind, integrity of judgment and the courage of considered conviction are necessary preliminaries to the effective functioning of democracy, this part of America at least needs a new birth.

JOSEPH F. KING.

Plymouth Congregational Church
Lawrence, Kan.

Clergy Offer Aid In Ford Strike

Fifteen members of Detroit's Protestant clergy made available their services to Gov. Murray D. Van Wagoner to help him settle the strike at the Ford Motor Company. Headed by Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Central Methodist Church, the delegation appeared at the governor's hotel headquarters and offered cooperation. Dr. Crane, the delegation's spokesman, declared that "to remain silent or indifferent would be utterly reprehensible. We are in complete accord with Gov. Van Wagoner's policy of mediation and have been assured by him that he will try to maintain that policy. We told him we would support him in that, and he asked us to urge our people to offer prayers in the situation. We feel that the governor is right in saying that unless we give a demonstration of faith in our democratic processes by upholding properly constituted authorities we will be doing a grave injustice to democracy."

State Department Receives Food-For-Europe Plea

A petition containing the names of more than 6,000 persons, many of them clergymen, was presented to the state department by members of a "Food-for-Europe Pilgrimage" who had hiked the 128 miles from Wilmington, Del., to the capital city in an effort to dramatize the plight of the starving populations in the nazi-dominated European democracies. The petition urged that a way be found to allow food ships to pass unmolested to Holland, France, Finland, Denmark, Poland and Norway. In presenting the petition, John Nevin Sayre, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, under whose sponsorship the pilgrimage was launched, declared that "the conscience of the plain people of America today wants our country to send food—certainly not guns alone—to Europe." Plans to present the petition to the British embassy were canceled following receipt of a statement from the embassy that the British government's position had already been made clear. Following presentation of the petition to the state department, a delegation of hikers was received by Senator Capper of Kansas who will endeavor to seek Senate action.

SEMINARS IN PARISH ADMINISTRATION

Responding to numerous requests from ministers, Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, has agreed to conduct two seminars in parish administration during the summer of 1941.

Lectures and discussions five mornings each week; afternoons free; individual consultation available upon request. Registration is limited to one hundred in each seminar. Fee, ten dollars. For further information address

Patricia Moore, Secretary
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Youth Welcome Christian Mission

Last of Series Reaches 200,000 Californians—Lester Urges Discipline—Japanese Americans Loyal

(Correspondence from Southern California)

LOS ANGELES, April 17.—Possibly 200,000 persons were reached by the National Christian Mission meetings in Pasadena, Glendale, Huntington Park, Alhambra, Long Beach and Santa Monica as well as in Los Angeles. The enthusiasm shown by college students and by packed audiences in several high schools was especially significant. An invitational meeting for government, city and county employees was also successful. Business men filled the dining rooms of various luncheon clubs to hear E. Stanley Jones present the Kingdom of God as a realistic solution of social, not merely personal, problems. The quality and quantity of the newspaper reporting were exceptionally favorable. There was an increasing attendance at the breakfasts for ministers.

* * *

Miss Lester Stresses the Imperatives of God

Throughout the mission Muriel Lester appealed to large gatherings of women to spend an hour in prayer every Thursday throughout the war, trying to look at the starving people of Europe as God looks at them. Hundreds of women in southern California, joining with others over the country, agreed to do this. "Human beings," declared Miss Lester, "are so constituted that if they give up the discipline inherent in their religion whatever their religion may be, they soon find themselves subject to a discipline imposed upon them from without. When you give up the imperatives of God," she continued, "you will probably soon be subject to the imperatives of a dictator—your own or some other brand. The nazis and communists are superbly disciplined for an inferior purpose. We have a perfect aim, nothing less than the Kingdom of God on earth, but we are spiritually flabby."

* * *

Oppose War in The Pacific

In the opening statement of a specially called seminar of the Christian Mission "to keep the Pacific blue instead of red with the blood of brothers," John M. Yamazaki, president of the Japanese church federation of southern California, declared that his organization of 29 Japanese Christian churches is carrying on Americanization work. He felt that the *Nisei* (American citizens whose parents are Japanese) are loyal. Approximately half of them are Christians. K. Onoura, pastor of the Japanese Christian Church, pointed out how the *Issei* (first-generation Japanese) are not allowed either to become citizens or to own land. Donald Toriumi of the Union Church explained how his group, the *Nisei,* have a high social visibility. "Wherever we go, we are spotted as Orientals. Yes, even when we are invited to church gatherings and racial and Americanization meetings we are asked to come dressed in our 'native' costumes, sing Japanese songs and teach the people concerning the secret lore of the Oriental culture." Joseph Fukushima, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, testified that in spite of laws discriminating against them, the Japanese people in America wish to remain and to act as American citizens.

* * *

Japanese Americans Are Loyal

At a previous conference called by the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Prof. Floyd Schmoe of the University of Washington, just returned from investigating Japanese-American relationships in Hawaii and on the Pacific coast, emphasized the obligation of white Christians to take the initiative in showing friendship to Orientals residing here. Prof. Emory Bogardus estimated that there must now be approximately 100,000 second-generation Japanese-Americans in this country; of these, 12,300 are registered voters in Los Angeles county. The public has to be educated to understand that they are anything but "fifth columnists." On the contrary, they have an excellent record in our high schools and colleges.

* * *

Baker Urges Patience With Orientals

Bishop James C. Baker is back from his visit among the churches of Japan and Korea. Commenting on the great integrity of purpose he encountered among the Christian leaders in the Far East, he says: "We ought not to be hasty in our judgment of them. We should have long patience and trust and expectation."

* * *

Youth Conference Discusses Christian Realism

At a conference on "Christian Youth as Realistic Peacemakers," sponsored by the southern California youth council and other Christian youth groups, G. Raymond Booth, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee on the Pacific coast, told how Christian young people are going "into hot, unlovely, poverty-ridden areas of human strife, among migrants, sharecroppers, miners and others, not to be entertained and cared for, but to work; not to teach the unlearned but to learn from them." John Swomley, youth secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made it clear that youth can no longer depend upon appeals to Washington. Peace must begin with the people. "They must get rid of violence in their own communities. They must change their basic attitudes to love for all mankind. This can be accomplished only by a genuine religious reformation, by the forming of small groups in each community who will pray, study, discipline themselves and by action eliminate slums, racial inequality and exploitation in their own communities."

ALLAN A. HUNTER.

Oregon Parochial Schools Get Free Books

Gov. Charles A. Sprague has filed with the secretary of state a bill passed by the recent session of the Oregon legislature extending the privileges of free textbooks to private and parochial grammar schools.

Negroes Query Defense Role

Draft Boards Embarrassed by Negroes Eager to Join—Arkansas Prison Probe—Mexican Is First Casualty

(Correspondence from Mississippi)

ABERDEEN, April 12.—Tuskegee educational leaders are sponsoring meetings on the Negro and national defense. A joint commencement service was held in Amory, Miss., by 53 Negro schools. Instead of graduating one or two students in little country schools, they joined together for an impressive service. Negro country schools now run on a term increased to six months in most counties. Teachers receive an average of $25 a month.

* * *

Too Many Negroes For Army

Meanwhile draft boards are embarrassed by a surplus of Negroes wanting to enter army service. The army is a paradise of social security to the sharecropper, and draft boards have too many Negro eligibles. The army physical examinations, made for whites, render it possible to turn down most of the Negroes on racial characteristics. But even at that there are many more available than can be taken in the quotas assigned.

* * *

Women Warned of Camp Dangers

Mississippi Methodists exceeded their quotas for religious work in the army and aid to British missions. Meanwhile Mrs. Mary McCoy, professor of religion at Alabama College, warned 400 delegates at the Methodist state women's meeting of the dangers of war romances, and the unnatural situation created by the congestion of men in a few places.

* * *

Prisons Worse Than Concentration Camps

Arkansas prison farm conditions rival those of a nazi concentration camp—that charge is made by members of the state legislature who have been making investigations. There is no vocational training or rehabilitation there. Prisoners have been flogged as often as 30 times a year. Many were found sleeping without sheets on their beds and had no towels. Stories of ill-treatment are frequent. Graft, misappropriation of state funds, incompetence, gambling, drunkenness, brutality and hunger prevail. The lack of sufficient food has had serious consequences. The *Arkansas Baptist* is leading a fight to clean up conditions.

* * *

Dr. Wingfield Denounces Religion of Democracy

Speaking over Memphis station WMC, Marshall Wingfield, pastor of the First Congregational Church, declared: "There is nothing new, comforting or stimulating in the idea of religion and democracy together. There is no such thing as a religion of democracy; religion is a relationship between man and God. Religion is not to be a fear-raising force for war. In

all wars men have said that if our side loses, religion is doomed." As the most conspicuous and almost only public criticism of the war hysteria, this broadcast attracted much attention throughout this entire region.

* * *

Drunken Judge Not Prosecuted

A judge was indicted for being "unlawfully drunk" in court. This was nothing new, but finally lawyers in one Mississippi county got tired of dealing with a judge who was not sober, so they had him indicted. The indictment was allowed to be postponed until there was no opportunity for impeachment by the legislature. Then a small percentage of lawyers practicing in the judge's district asked the case to be retired to the files. The judge did not deny the charge, and the evidence was uncontroverted in the press.

* * *

Texas Church Holds 'University of Life'

A "University of Life" program was conducted again this year at the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer, Houston, Texas. Meeting every Sunday evening with a short service and classes following, outstanding lecturers led the programs. The alert rector, Gordon M. Reese, included in the curriculum literature, medicine, education, labor relations, economic conditions, family and personal problems and foreign affairs.

* * *

Lenten Services Dwindle

This year pre-Easter services grew in number and in attendance, while traditional Lenten services dwindled. Good Friday was lost to the educators. The previously reported plea of the ministers failed, and the field meets were held on Good Friday. The crucifixion is not so important!

* * *

Natchez Women Quarrel

Natchez pilgrimages, for the purpose of showing off the old homes in the vicinity, have been a leading industry for several years. This year a feud between the two women's garden clubs resulted in a hearing in the courts. A large number of visitors get their first glimpses of the old south by means of these pilgrimages. It is all very lovely, but there are other parts of the old south which are discreetly kept in the background. After all, the foundation of these mansions of indolence was chattel slavery.

* * *

Mexican Draftee Is First Casualty

The first casualty of a Mississippi regiment was a Mexican sharecropper's boy from a delta plantation. Below normal in intelligence, he went home from the first camp to which he was sent. He was taken back from his river home and sent on to another camp. With a warning that he was not overintelligent and would probably try to go home the first night, he was turned over to another regiment. He started home as soon as he was off duty, and was killed by a car while hitchhiking along the road.

CHARLES GRANVILLE HAMILTON.

Scottish Churches Study Peace Plans

Pastors Take Issue to Congregations—Scottish Cities Bombed—Norway Sends Naval Recruits

(Correspondence from Scotland)

EDINBURGH, March 28.—All thinking people in this country, like so many in the U. S. A., are deeply concerned that preoccupation with immediate war tasks should not be allowed to interfere with thinking and wise planning for the reconstruction that must follow the coming of peace. More than ever before in our recent history the church is seeking to make its influence felt, indirectly, in the political field. There is a determination to see that the ultimate settlement does not run on imperialistic or capitalistic or narrowly conceived nationalistic lines. And, while it is recognized that it is outside the function of the church to sponsor any particular political or economic program, it is felt that the preaching of today should lay down the Christian principles on which the new order must be based and urge Christian men to apply these principles in all their activities and responsibilities as citizens. Mere ecclesiastical "pronouncements," the findings of church committees and church courts, tend to be too balanced and too cautious to have much effect. They lack the prophetic note. But in some presbyteries ministers have got together and drawn up a short list of topics urgently needing to be dealt with, and have then preached upon these in turn on the same Sundays. The subjects have of course been advertised and have stirred a good deal of interest. People feel that the church is at least trying to give guidance in the present crisis.

* * *

Scotland in the Battle Front

Up to this month Scotland, though not exempt from occasional minor raids, had not felt the full weight of large-scale air attacks. A fortnight ago one of our cities was very heavily bombed. In a thickly populated working class district some hundreds were killed and many thousands rendered homeless. But if war brings out much of the worst in human nature, it also reveals much of the best. The courage with which people of all classes, regardless of danger, rushed to extinguish fires and incendiary bombs, to aid the wounded and extricate those trapped or buried, was a thing to be proud of. Homes were opened to the homeless and emergency food arrangements worked with speed and efficiency. Our own Church of Scotland mobile canteens—intended normally to supply the needs of soldiers posted in less accessible districts—appeared quickly in the streets conveying warm meals and bringing cheer and encouragement to the stricken families.

* * *

Renew Scoto-Polish Friendship

There has been a rather surprising bond of friendship, renewed in successive centuries since the Middle Ages, between Scot-

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land and Poland. At times it was Scottish refugees from religious persecution who found a haven in Poland; at times it was exiled Poles who found welcome and shelter in Scotland. "There cannot be more proper objects of the feelings of humane sympathy than the Polish exiles—men who, having sacrificed everything in an unequal contest for the preservation of their national existence as guaranteed to them by treaties entered into by all the great powers of Europe, under the immediate influence of British statesmen, are now forlorn wanderers and dependent entirely upon the generosity of Great Britain." These words were actually published in the *Edinburgh Courant* in 1833. They provide a melancholy perspective on the present. How little the world has changed in the past troubled century.

* * *

Set Up Polish Faculty Of Medicine

There are again today many thousands of exiled Poles in Scotland. Most of them are in the army, but among them are men distinguished in many professions. One interesting form which Scottish hospitality has taken has been the providing of facilities at Edinburgh University for the establishment of a Polish faculty of medicine. This was inaugurated a week ago, and is to be under the direction of the distinguished Polish surgeon, Professor Jurasz.

* * *

Norwegians Come To Scotland

Britain becomes more and more a haven for storm-tossed peoples from the European continent. Mr. Masaryk, son of the famous founder of the Czechoslovakian republic, was in Edinburgh last week. At a meeting which he addressed a considerable number of Poles were present, and it was interesting to note the enthusiasm with which they greeted his prediction that the close of the war would see a close and lasting alliance—"federation," he called it—between Poland and Bohemia. But even more surprising is the number of Norwegians who keep arriving on our Scottish shores—hundreds of them. How they come I do not know, but a story has been published telling how two young men slipped away in a small open boat and, incredibly, sailed it across the wild seas to the Shetland islands. All these hardy men are eager to join up in some branch of the naval service.

* * *

Old Churches Are Merged

No church has a more outstanding place in Scottish history than that of Greyfriars, Edinburgh. It has been the scene of many great events, notably the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. Not far from it stands another church which has had a high reputation in more recent years—New North, from whose pulpit Dr. John Kelman and after him Dr. Sclater preached to congregations largely composed of university students. The Scottish church union of 1929 and the shifting of population have rendered it unnecessary to have these two separate congregations in such close proximity, and this month, with the utmost good will and harmony, they were united.

GEORGE CARSTAIRS.

Munitions Convoy Urged by Bishop

Hobson Heads Group Urging Use of Navy—Labor Rights Stressed—Refugees Get Charter

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 21.— Stating that "we still think in terms of keeping out of a war in which we are already engaged in every sense except armed combat," a manifesto was issued Saturday by a new group known as the Fight for Freedom Committee. Bishop Henry W. Hobson, of the Episcopal diocese of Southern Ohio, is national chairman. Its 223 members include prominent educators, clerics, journalists, lawyers and others. Senator Carter Glass, Herbert Agar and Col. William J. Donovan are among the names listed. The manifesto clearly advocates the use of the American navy and air force when it says: "Hitler cannot allow our goods to get to Britain; if he does, he will be beaten. We cannot allow our goods to be sunk in the Atlantic; if we do, we shall be beaten. The problem is simple, and the answer is a willingness to do whatever is necessary to insure a Hitler defeat. This means accepting the fact that we are at war, whether declared or undeclared. Regardless of what we do, Hitler will attack us when he feels it to his advantage." Many of this new group were formerly related to the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

* * *

Urge Recognition of Labor Rights

Recognition of the rights and obligations of labor as essential to the success of the national defense program was stressed in a three-day session held last week at the New York School for Democracy, Union Theological Seminary. The school was sponsored by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the division of education of the American Unitarian Association. L. Metcalfe Walling, administrator of the division of public contracts, United States department of labor, declared that labor as well as capital is entitled to some of the profits made "out of this sordid business of war." The final session of the school considered the church and the community. Alfred Schmalz, pastor of the Darien (Conn.) Congregational Church, opened the discussion with a realistic appraisal of the task of the minister of a middle class church during a period when labor supplies the dynamics for social change. "At such a time," Mr. Schmalz declared, "the minister needs to be both a fearless prophet and a cautious diplomat. In pursuing this perilous course, the minister by his fearlessness may lose his job, but cautious diplomacy may lose him his soul."

* * *

Presbytery Studies Labor Relations

The annual meeting of the New York presbytery was held at Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church last Monday. A feature of the meeting was an address by Robert L. Dieffenbacher, secretary of the National Manufacturers' Association's committee on cooperation with the churches. Dr. Maitland Bartlett, stated clerk, in introducing the speaker said, "This subject has never before been brought to the attention of presbytery." Mr. Dieffenbacher declared: "The industrialist is afraid of a minister. He thinks the minister is a person with supreme knowledge of ethics, philosophy and such subjects and does not want to show his ignorance. So break the ice and visit some of them. There should be more cooperation between the church and organized labor, too."

* * *

Lutherans Develop Camp Work

The executive board of the United Lutheran Church at a meeting held Wednesday appealed to Lutheran churches throughout the country to raise $250,000 to provide for supplies for camp and community centers for soldiers and sailors, as well as funds to permit chaplains to obtain assistants in recreational and spiritual activities for Lutherans in military training camps. In view of an estimated six per cent rise in the cost of living last year, the board also appealed to the churches to increase their pastors' salaries to compensate them for increased living costs. It was decided to continue negotiations with other branches of the Lutheran Church looking toward unity of the various groups.

* * *

Refugee School Gets Charter

An absolute charter has been granted the New School for Social Research and the graduate faculty of political and social science, it was announced last week. Under the charter the graduate faculty is empowered to grant the advanced degrees of doctor and master of social sciences. Commenting on the grant, Dr. Johnson said, "This is the first instance in American history of the granting of full academic powers to an institution manned largely by scholars of foreign birth and training." A large percentage of the faculty are "educational" refugees.

* * *

And So Forth

John H. Warnshuis, pastor of the Brighton Heights Reformed Church of Staten Island, was elected last week to succeed E. Graham Wilson as chairman of the American Committee for Christian Refugees.

The Eastern Orthodox Greek Church celebrated Easter yesterday. Over 5,000 worshipers attended high midnight mass, presided over by Archbishop Athenagoras, at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral.

Prayers for continued peace and neutrality for Ireland were said in Catholic churches here and throughout the nation Sunday.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Catholics Claim Large Increase in 1940

Catholics in the United States, Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands now number 22,293,101, according to the Official *Directory for 1941*, just issued by P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York city. With all of the archdioceses and dioceses this year showing substantial gains, this figure represents an increase of 889,965 over last year.

Public Power Wins Approval in South

TVA Increases Wealth of Area—Opposition Silenced—Model Labor Plan —Methodists Train Leaders

(Correspondence from Tennessee)

NASHVILLE, April 15.—The movie houses are now showing an impressive film of TVA —and to applauding audiences. The Security Commission has ordered the unscrambling of Mr. Willkie's Commonwealth & Southern holding company. The victory for public ownership is complete. TVA has not only given the people great savings on electricity, amounting last year to about $9,000,000, but it is paying 25 per cent more taxes than did the private companies. The four major cities in Tennessee have reduced rates from 30 to 40 per cent and have made large net profits with which to pay for their distributing systems. The number of farm users has been multiplied by four. The cost of building rural lines has been cut in two. The residential user pays only one-half as much as the national average and the greatest benefit goes to the smallest home which pays only 40 per cent of the national average. The sale of electrical appliances is still booming at an average of $2,000,000 per month.

* * *

Objections Have Vanished

The Alcorn (Miss.) county system, one of the first local TVA distributing systems, has paid capital costs in half the 13 years for which it was amortized, increased its rural lines 11 times, and reduced the membership fee from $100 to $40. Clarksville, one of Tennessee's first TVA towns, has cut rates one-third and is making a net profit of 10 per cent with which to pay off the capital cost. All the objections urged by opponents of TVA have vanished. The demand for power is now greater than the supply. One great new dam not included in the original plans is under construction, and doubtless others will be built. The Cumberland river will probably be added to the Tennessee river system under TVA.

* * *

Adds to Wealth Of Soil

But producing cheaper electricity is not TVA's only contribution. Its experimental work may in the end bring greater benefits to the building of the new south than its gift of light and power. TVA has planted 110,000,000 trees. It has introduced a black walnut that increases the meat of the nut by four times, and also the rich, fruit producing Japanese persimmon. It is covering deeply eroded lands with the hardy, soil-building black locust. Its production of superphosphate has not only brought industry to the low grade ore bed of the region but will this year get the cooperation of more than 800,000 farmers in 23 states in soil enriching experiments. Its experiments in extracting aluminum ore from the clays of the valley may work a revolution in this industry. Success for the reduction of manganese at low cost seems now assured and that may be a greater boon than any other to an age which is growing wings and taking to the air.

* * *

Labor Plan a Model

Meanwhile, social experimentation in community building is not forgotten. The model labor relations plan, which Commissioner Lilienthal says is worth more than one of the big dams, is a model for all big industry. The decentralization of administration is a model for all governmental enterprises, some of which are already corroded with bureaucracy.

* * *

Race Relations Change Slowly

Progress in the south from the viewpoint of the color line is slow and never spectacular, but it is being made. The Supreme Court's decision requiring equal pay for white and colored teachers had been anticipated in a few, but very few, southern communities. The court's decision also prohibited requiring the Negro teacher to teach more children than the white. No doubt many boards of education will ignore the law until forced to obey it. The increase in such a city as Richmond, Va., will cost $250,000. In each southern state it will run from $1,000,000 per year to more than twice that sum. For the whole of the south it will require perhaps $15,000,000. The general judgment of educators seems to be that federal subsidies will be required. One state superintendent told the Colored Teachers' Association that legal efforts on their part to enforce obedience to the law might cause them to lose their best friends and hurt the cause of Negro education for some time to come.

* * *

Methodist Educators Training Leaders

The Southern Methodist leaders are promoting the most ambitious church educational program yet undertaken by any American Protestant denomination. Regional conferences are being held, teacher training schools are being conducted in all community centers, ministerial institutes are organized for every conference, several score of teams-of-five "caravaners" are being trained to go from church to church to stimulate youth in church service. Teams of two likewise will go out to hold vacation schools and to help the rural and smaller churches share the benefits of the church's educational program.

* * *

Federation Keeps 20,000 in School

During the past winter the Save the Children Federation helped some 20,000 children in the rural schools of the southern highlands to stay in school. The size of its contribution is emphasized by the fact that it sent 120,000 pounds of clothing—which meant at least 100,000 children's garments when refurbished by mothers, women's clubs, the NYA and other workers. One of its signal contributions has been to obtain 40,000 school desks as gifts from city schools to mountain schools. It has raised and sent to bombed-out British and refugee children $250,000 during the past year—and this without affecting the gifts to its regular work for mountain children.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Ban on Negro Jobs Stirs Kansas City

Defense Industry Bar Arouses City—Negro Youth Unemployed—12,000 Attend Easter Service

(Correspondence from Kansas City)

KANSAS CITY, MO., April 14.—When J. H. Kinbelberger, president of the North American Aviation Company, made the statement that it was contrary to the policy of that firm to accept Negroes as skilled workers in the bomber plant now being built in Kansas City, Kan., things began to happen. A huge mass meeting was held in protest. The mayor and city council expressed opposition to the policy of discrimination. The Kansas legislature passed a bill to prohibit racial discrimination by labor unions. It was introduced by William H. Towers, the only Negro member of the legislature, passed with no dissenting vote and signed by Gov. Payne H. Ratner. A C.I.O. packing house union, representing the 1,200 Negro and white workers at Armour's packing house, resented the Kindelberger statement so strongly that it

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sent a committee to Washington at its own expense to make a formal protest.

* * *

Job of Janitor Only One Open to Negro Youth

Before delivering the address at the annual meeting of the Urban League, Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, made a survey of the vocational opportunities hereabouts for Negro youths. He found a "Jim Crow" situation prevailing which provided for Negroes only janitor jobs. It is fair to add that the new superintendent of schools, Harold C. Hunt, is conscious of the needs, but finds a financial situation that prevents expansion in the vocational program.

* * *

12,000 Attend Community Easter Service

This has been a season of heavy rainfall, but Easter morning was bright and clear. Practically every church in the city was filled to capacity. The Community Church for the 12th time held services in the municipal auditorium. Nearly 12,000 were in attendance. The council of churches conducted a vigorous program throughout the Lenten period. Noonday meetings were held during Holy Week at Grand Avenue Methodist Temple and many factories had their own Good Friday services.

* * *

Brotherhood Week Is Observed

Brotherhood Week was observed with exceptional interest owing to the efforts of Willard Johnson, Des Moines, Iowa, central area director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Everett R. Clinchy addressed a large luncheon meeting. A new Protestant co-chairman, Judge Albert Reeves, has been appointed. He serves with Edward J. Shannahan and Fred Wolfson. W. C. Burton, pastor of the First Congregational Church, is local secretary.

* * *

Small Town Conducts Own Mission

Harold M. Bryant, minister of First Methodist Church, Falls City, Nebr., conducted an outstanding Christian mission with an attendance of 600, including 16 denominations, 32 communities and 58 ministers. The program covered an area untouched by the metropolitan missions. There was an enthusiastic request for a similar meeting next year. Speakers included W. N. Wallis, E. J. Kulp, Paul Durham, W. L. Muncy, Jr., M. W. Faulkner and W. Morris Ford.

* * *

Refugee Committee Is Formed

A local committee for Kansas City is being formed to cooperate with the American Committee for Christian Refugees. This movement has the endorsement of the council of social agencies and is working with Richard E. Shields, midwest regional director. The Jewish committee and the Kansas City placement council are also working in conjunction with the new organization. The University of Kansas City has on its faculty a number of members from foreign countries. The local group hopes to be able to place many additional families as soon as the budget is subscribed.

* * *

Senator Clark To Speak

The America First Committee will bring Senator Bennett C. Clark to Kansas City on May 2. His address will be given at the Scottish Rite Temple.

JOSEPH C. CLEVELAND.

Weigle and Israel Head China Relief Group

Dean Luther A. Weigle, president of the Federal Council of Churches, and Rabbi Edward L. Israel, president of the Synagogue Council of America, have accepted the co-chairmanship of the National Committee on Churches and Synagogues for United China Relief, it is announced. The committee coordinates the activities of seven major China relief agencies.

'Be assured of my appreciation of what the *Christian Century Pulpit* continues to do for all of us,'

writes ALFRED W. SWAN
(First Congregational, Madison, Wis.)

IN THE MAY ISSUE

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
Riverside Church, New York
"Winning the War of Ideas"

WILLIAM LINDSAY YOUNG
Moderator Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
"The Church and National Defense"

ALFRED GRANT WALTON
Tompkins Ave. Congregational Church, Brooklyn
"This I Can Believe!"

J. H. MARION, Jr.
Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va.
"The Ministry of Encouragement"

JOHN FIELD MULHOLLAND
Rural Parish, Round Lake, Minn.
"Portrait of a Mother"

ALBERT BUCKNER COE
First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.
"Building a New World"

WINTHROP S. HUDSON
Normal Park Baptist Church, Chicago
"A Pastoral Prayer"

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Dearborn Finds An Uneasy Peace

Ford Men Return to Work—Churches Hold People Together—Signs of Change of Attitude

(Special Correspondence)

DEARBORN, April 21.—Thanks to the prompt and courageous action of Governor Van Wagoner and Federal Conciliator James Dewey, Dearborn averted what might have become a bloody battle. The governor acted on Wednesday by ordering the Ford plant kept closed throughout the mediation period, and posting state police at all of the gates to keep order and supervise the picket lines. This morning the men are back at work, with state police also inside the plant to see that the outbreaks of violence which occurred last week do not continue.

Meanwhile the city is astir with the efforts of the representatives of the two rival unions to sign up more members preparatory to the election which the labor board will hold within the next four weeks. Never has the tragic division in the ranks of labor been more disastrous than here in Dearborn. For although the A. F. of L. union is being promoted by the company, and bosses are signing men up right on the job, thus assuring that even if the A. F. of L. were to win the election it would be disqualified as bargaining agent by federal law, still the two factions are being used to promote ill will among the workers, to foster racial antagonism and to weaken the ultimate position of any group which becomes established as the representative of the employees.

Churches Hold People Together

How is community life, and especially the church community, being affected by developments? For one thing, we may say that there is much less personal bitterness than one might expect, knowing the critical issue which is involved. In every church there are those on both sides of the issue. Each group is very loyal to its side, and distrustful of the leaders on the other side. In almost any meeting of church women, for example, there is likely to be the wife of a union member and next to her the wife of a salaried man, or an anti-union man. Only in rare cases do these divisions result in a breach of the friendship. There are many encouraging indications that the church is not looked upon as a "class" church, and that there is developing a fellowship which is deeper and more significant than the economic divisions which temporarily separate people.

Does the Service Department Agree?

On the other hand, the church can hardly be said to be the center of dispassionate inquiry and free speech. For many years it has been taken for granted in this city that "some things are just not discussed" either in church groups or on public platforms. The church has not done much to challenge this unwritten law by which free speech has been throttled. In

any case where the situation has been challenged the person or group who does so is subjected to a good deal of criticism and vilification, if not to pressures and threats. The average citizen has finally come to accept the situation in which it is admitted that nothing can be done in the city which does not meet with the approval of the service department of the Ford Motor Company. Whether it be a low-cost housing project, the free distribution of literature, a public forum or a city ordinance of any sort, the one question which is asked about it is not "Is it right?" or "Is it democratic?" but "Is it acceptable to the service department?" If it is not, the attitude of the general public is that no matter how many people would like to see such action taken, the result would be failure. Furthermore, those who sponsor such proposals are likely to be the victims of reprisals of various sorts. This is, I believe, a fair statement of the general attitude.

Why People Will Not Talk

An example of this attitude is found in the case of a minister who was recently interviewed by a journalist from out of town, who wanted to sound out the attitudes of various persons in the community. He found that this minister would not talk to him on any vital aspect of the strike. He simply replied to all questions that it was not his policy to express opinions on such matters.

Of course one needs little imagination to see that the effect of such subtle intimidation and fear is bound to be tragic in terms of spiritual integrity. Ministers of the gospel are concerned fundamentally with what happens to the souls of people. "I came to bear witness of the truth." "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free." "Fear not he who can destroy the body, but fear him who can destroy both body and soul." Even if people living under these conditions enjoyed the highest standard of material prosperity, the cost would be too great. In this recent strike situation this company policy has been revealed as a thing which makes men lie to hold their jobs. It makes men do things for which they despise themselves—to hold their jobs.

The Wind Is Changing

It is therefore difficult to imagine anyone who understands what is taking place who would not welcome the end of the reign of intimidation and restraint which has ruled for so long. The only power, however, which has shown any serious chance of being strong enough to break this company control is the power of organized labor in the C.I.O. Anyone who speaks out against these abuses is immediately identified with the C.I.O. and branded as a radical. There is growing evidence that this old name-calling procedure has about spent itself. People are not paying much attention to it now. There is on the other hand a growing tendency among politically minded persons to recognize the "way the wind blows," and to get ready to go along with a new regime. We are now hearing a good many who assure us that "I have always been a believer in organized labor; all I oppose is the racketeer element." Here again one recognizes the deplorable lack of spiritual integrity, which reveals a man's convictions as no deeper than the thing which affects his own job.

Dr. Fosdick once said that no reform movement gets very far until an economic drive gets behind it. We are now approaching the time when the long overdue correction of abuses seems about to be realized, largely because the working people have organized to correct them. The cynic might call it "economic determinism." A Christian might declare that every such abuse of human rights carries the seeds of its own downfall.

OWEN M. GEER.

Delegates Are Announced for American-Japanese Meeting

The international conference of American and Japanese Christian leaders, which was held in Los Angeles April 20-25 for the purpose of "strengthening the bonds of Christian fellowship in a time of crisis," was attended by more than 20 representatives from both countries, it was announced by Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council of Churches. The Japanese delegation included Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, noted social worker and evangelist; William Axling, honorary secretary of the Japanese Christian Council; Bishop Yoshimuni Abe of the Methodist Church of Japan; and Rev. Michio Kozaki, vice-chairman of the Japanese Christian Council. Included among the American delegates were Roswell P. Barnes, associate secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Emory Ross, secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference; and a group of leading churchmen from several major communions.

Church Terms Liquor 'National Menace'

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada has sent a telegram to the Hon. J. C. Gardiner, minister of war services, stating that the board is unanimously of the opinion that increasing consumption of liquor is a national menace and seriously handicaps the war effort. It urged immediate action by the dominion government in drastically restricting liquor sales, banning all liquor advertising and imposing additional taxes on the liquor trade.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

A Girl, a Guy and a Gob (RKO) Lucille Ball, Geo. Murphy, E. O'Brien	*Comedy.* The girl is a stenographer, engaged to a sailor. He likes his job; her boss needs humanizing—and things work out hilariously.	Inconsequential, but the rich variety of comic types and the spontaneity with which they are presented makes this *good farce.* M, Y
†The Devil and Miss Jones (RKO) Jean Arthur, S. Byington, C. Coburn, R. Cummings	*Comedy.* Rich owner of big department store poses as clerk to discover ringleaders in union activity; ends up on the picket line himself.	For once, labor leaders are shown as delightful people—but then, so is the owner, with management the real villain. Essential thing is the sparkling comedy. *Deftly handled, light, amusing.* M, Y
The Great Lie (War.) Mary Astor, George Brent, Bette Davis, H. McDaniel	*Drama.* When an aviator, lost in jungle, is given up for dead, wife takes child born to her predecessor as her own. But he returns, and "the lie" complicates matters.	Sentimental, fantastic theme, carried out emotionally and convincingly. Although premise rests on aviator's reform from drunkenness, there is much drinking in film. For adults, *fair, if interested.* M
The Great Mr. Nobody (War.) Eddie Albert, Joan Leslie	*Comedy* about overgenerous fellow whose good deeds keep him from realizing ambitions.	At least a welcome deviation from usual "Class B" type. Albert well cast as bungling hero. *Slight but rather appealing.* M, Y
Men of the F.B.I. (The March of Time)	*Pseudo-documentary.* A look at training of men for anti-espionage service, with hypothetical cases solved.	Emphasizes that fight is against spies, saboteurs and, last but not least, pseudo-liberals with their dangerous ideas. *Interesting as indicative of trends.* M
There's Magic in Music (Par.) Susanna Foster, Allen Jones, Lynn Overman	*Comedy,* with music, built around youth music camp at Interlochen, Mich. Young artists and musical groups perform during unreeling of tale.	Musically interesting, and a praiseworthy idea. Maudlin story of reformation of burlesque singer *regrettable in what otherwise would have been an excellent family film. For the music, yes.* M, Y
Ziegfeld Girl (MGM) Judy Garland, Hedy Lamarr, James Stewart, Lana Turner	*"Spectacles"* from several "Follies," with background of personal experiences of three girls among those chosen for one edition.	Stories are rather sentimental, strained and trite, with attempt to draw some sort of moral. Performances are good, but on the whole dull. *Surfeited with splendor.* M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

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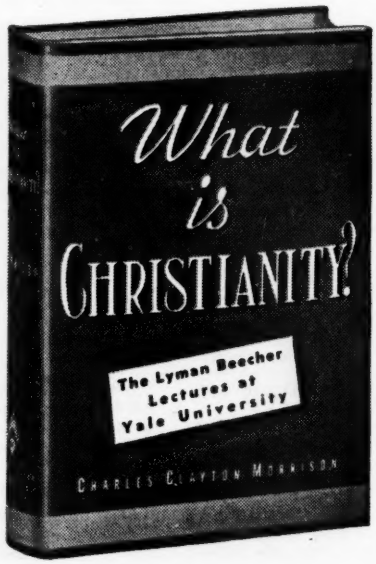

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